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Selections.

McCLELLAN AND THE GOVERNMENT.

AT length Gen. McClellan has been withdrawn from active command of any army in the field, and appointed to garrison duty. The President has committed to his charge the forts around Washington, and the forces required to defend the Capital. We believe this General, now, to have found his true place, and we shall expect from him a discreet and able defense of the seat of government. By his nature he is fitted for defensive war, and unfitted for offensive. He is essentially an Engineer rather than a General. He foresees danger, but not success. He fears, but seldom hopes. He is constitutionally a cautious man, active in his perceptive faculties, and slow in his reflective. He comes to new things with an overmastering caution which makes it impossible for him to be energetic or enterprising. We believe him to be a sincere patriot; a conscientious officer; an admirable engineer; and a very poor General. He is said to have shown talent in the organization of the army. The history of that matter is not yet known. He is said to have been an admirable disciplinarian. But, the condition of the army when it came from that valley of the shadow of death, the Peninsula, would cast much doubt upon that.

We suspect that at last, when feelings and prejudices shall have settled, and the interior history of the campaign shall be written, it will be found that he was a man of plain good sense, without remarkable gifts, of no peculiar military genius, thoroughly educated in military science, and well versed in engineering; slow of thought, and not fertile in expedient; but, above all, a man tied up by a constitutional CAUTION, which magnified all dangers, leading him to extraordinary hesitation in the presence of little things for fear they might turn out large things; to vast preparations, which, when made, he distrusted in proportion as the danger drew near, lest, by some yet unsuspected omission, he should be found wanting. Such a man is well calculated to defend a fort or a city, but not to move an army with celerity, to take risks—without which there can be no war—to strike boldly, to think quickly, to act instantly upon thought and decision. But this caution which disqualifies him from movement, fits him to *stand* and to receive attack.

That McClellan ought to have cleared Virginia months before he thought of moving, is now generally conceded. When at length, under the President's goad, he moved, he should have gone by way of Manassas and Central Virginia upon Richmond. The best evidence of that is the eight months on the Peninsula, its abandonment, and the present position of McClellan's late army. The enemy knew the General's weakness. They played upon his fears. They magnified their numbers. They acted the part of defiant courage. With only forty thousand men at Manassas, they held in check more than two hundred thousand, by playing on their commander's morbid caution.

At every step of his progress, after leaving Washington, the government, that was dissatisfied with his plan of campaign, but weakly yielded to it, had fresh occasion for distrust and alarm. He feared everything but the squandering of time. Of that he seemed to have a supply which no prodigality could waste. He dug as if he had been sent to underdrain the Peninsula. He took his inspiration from the mole, and not from the eagle. When he stretched his lines along the Chickahominy, the army became but a huge ox, that with dull strength and slow foot pulled the campaign by sheer brute force, unhelped by brains or genius, except from the minor Generals. One and another opportunity came, a third, and a fourth, on which we will not say a Frederick, a Bonaparte, a Wellington, but even a Raglan or a Simpson, would have struck through and seized Richmond; But McClellan saw no way that had not a lion in it. Besides, it is understood that he went to the Peninsula hoping with a great army to overcome rebellion, and end the campaign with little bloodshed. He intended to catch leviathan with a fish-hook. The policy resulted in converting the army into a procession of hospitals, and ended in battles as murderous as the world has ever known. And when the last trumpet shall bring forth the dead, between fifty and a hundred thousand men will rise from the swamps of the Chickahominy and the fields of the Peninsula, witnesses to the cruelty of a conservative campaign!

We believe that Gen. McClellan both aimed to do his duty, and exerted every talent that God had given him to that end. But he was inadequate t the situation. The task required a man of large ability, of military genius, and especially of courage to take risks and win by straight-out fighting.

When McClellan was appointed to his high position, it was the best thing the government could do. All men were untried, and he promised more brilliantly than any. But we have reason to blame the government for continuing him in his position after confidence was shaken in his ability, and especially for doing it for the *reasons* they did.

It is no secret that President Lincoln has been wont to speak for many months past in terms of severe condemnation of Gen. McClellan. Again and again he has not hidden his conviction of McClellan's incompetency for his position. He did not approve the campaign. He did not approve of the execution of it. He was severely discontented with the condition of affairs upon the great retreat. Why did he not remove him? *McClellan was a Democrat.* The President feared the effect of such an act upon the Democratic party. Does any one, informed of the secret history of affairs, doubt whether the President would have placed another at the head of the army, had McClellan been an anti-slavery man, before a step was taken toward Yorktown? Had it been Fremont, he would have been put down in an hour! The President's scarcely disguised idea of policy is, that the anti-slavery party of the North will bear to be snubbed; it is made up of men of such deep moral feeling, so earnest, so patriotic, so self-sacrificing, that they will not abandon the Administration, however unjustly they may be treated. But the Democrats are impatient and intractable. They will not patiently bear being crossed. And so the President recalls Fremont on the very eve of a battle in Missouri, which would have delivered the West almost a year earlier than, following in Fremont's steps, it was afterwards done. Again, after Fremont had with matchless celerity chased Jackson out of the Shenandoah Valley (the only man that yet has proved a match in strategy, and quickness and skill in handling men, with Jackson), he was, at the clamor of discontented Democrats and army officers, relieved of command. But McClellan was continued, through a series of blunders, of torpidities, of ruinous mismanagements, that will give to military history one of its saddest and guiltiest chapters, and is yet continued in command, because, being the intended future hero of the Democratic party, the President feared to transfer him.

This is the precise illustration of that in the Administration which we have deeply regretted, and have before pointed out. It is a want of nerve to do that which the necessities of the Country imperatively demand, *for fear of some imagined political consequences in the North!*

War is always the instrument of politics. It is begun, and its aims marked down, from political consideration. But after that politics cease. The organization of the army, the plan of campaign, the details and management, should be exclusively left to military rules and principles. But, to an alarming extent, our army has been playing politics and not war. Its organization was vicious. The government desired to unite the North by showing favor to those who voted against, as well as those who voted for, Mr. Lincoln. It was not usual to give civil offices to political opponents. The army was made the means of conciliating them. Organized largely on a political basis, it has also experienced great weakness from the same cause. Incompetent officers have been continued; drunkards in command have been undisciplined; notorious inefficiencies have not debarred men from dangerous positions. This political lenity, this party timidity, may be wise enough when only the material interests of the country suffer. But when it is purchased with the blood of men, the desolation of thousands of families, it ought to change our ideas of the moral character of an easy, irresolute, dilatory policy. Good-natured patience and philosophical expectations that things will all drift about right, have an amiable exterior, but cost more woe and wretchedness and desolation than the sternest and most despotic rule of war. Nothing is so unmerciful as slipshod easiness in time of war.

If the news that comes by telegraph as we write be true, that Lexington is taken; that Louisville is threatened; that Cincinnati is suffering one of its frequent ague-fits of terror, and this time with good cause; that Western Virginia is invaded from the west; that the fords of the Potomac are foaming with an army aiming at Baltimore; that the Capital is again in imminent danger, that has never, after more than sixteen months' campaign, been secure; that Pope is falling back upon it; should these tidings prove true—has not this great people a right to demand of the Administration to lay aside politics and take up war in earnest?

If they prove false and fleeting rumors, it will be no less true that every man who loves republican government, who has pride of nationality, who abhors rebellion and detests the system of slavery which bred it; every man who has lost kindred, and every one who has kindred to lose, should join in swelling the ranks of the regiments raising, should give voice to his sentiments of undying patriotism, and, above all, should aid in rolling in upon Washington a public sentiment that shall fire the government with new ardor, and strengthen its weakness of will by giving to it the irresistible will of twenty million loyal men, who are determined that this government shall stand, and that slavery, its only dangerous enemy, shall perish!—*H. W. Beecher, in The Independent.*

PORT ROYAL EMANCIPATION.

[The following letter to a member of the Port Royal Relief Committee, from a lady laboring among the blacks on St. Helena Island, we take from the Philadelphia *North American.*]

ST. HELENA ISLAND, July 28, 1862.

YOUR very welcome letter has remained unanswered a long time, because the questions it asks were deep, and required both observation and thought. I cannot pretend to answer them, except in the way in which Sydney Smith criticized. He said he always expressed his opinions on art recklessly, because nobody could be supposed to care for them. I have my opinions on the emancipation question, which I will freely express for the same reason. If they should happen to be sound, I shall be very glad; but if they shouldn't, what else do you expect? So I may carelessly give them for what they are worth. They are something to me at least—living convictions which every day's experience confirms.

I read your pamphlets and recognize the clear sight which foresaw and foretold all that has come. I saw, too, your grief over the hardness of heart in those who would not take warning. Also, the benevolent spirit of hope that induced belief in those who had given little cause for it. But I have myself no faith that those who have built their house on oppression will ever consent to knocking away its foundations, and letting it fall about their ears. Men must be superhuman to do such things.

In your letter to me you say that if masters would offer to let the slaves buy themselves and their land, they would soon do it. But the slaves would want the trust, and the masters the faith and patience necessary to such a gradual process, or the ultimate result. Northern men, unaccustomed to the old authority and old servility, would be the only possible agents in such a scheme as we have seen here demonstrated in individual cases—those superintendents expecting to act the master being far less successful in managing than others with more Northern ways.

It seems to me that no hope of action favorable to freedom on the part of the slaveholders can be entertained, but as I think freedom is decreed, the question is to me whether government shall emancipate at once or gradually. You ask me to say what I think the sudden emancipation here and its results promise for that of the whole country. I have had, as you say, a fine opportunity of observing this experiment, arriving, as I did, at the most critical moment, and being at headquarters. But I can leave the answer to statistics. Mr. Pierce's last report is a full reply to it. The people, suddenly set free, have worked faithfully, and, of late, cheerfully under deprivation, uncertainty, and very slight authority. The superintendents were mostly very young men, who maintained their rule by kindness. A few arrests were made for disobedience to orders, but very few. And this quiet industry and obedience is the more remarkable when we know that the soldiers last winter assured the negroes that they were free, and instructed them to plant corn for their own support and advantage. We found this a fixed idea, and yet these people have submissively left their corn to plant cotton for government at the advice of their superintendents. I do not see what fuller proof can be given of the beneficial results of immediate emancipation than the quiet industry and happiness of the people, and the $200,000 surplus in the treasury from the cotton picked by them last year. We have some slight proof also against the "gradual" plan. On the plantations here which are claimed by men professing to be loyal, the negroes were told that their freedom depended upon their good behavior. These worked like the rest for government money, and received it, but the idea that they were not quite free made them comparatively sullen, refractory and idle. The only neglected cotton and potatoes I have seen were on one of those half-claimed plantations, and the people are the most troublesome on the island. We have told the people on this place (Pope's plantation), when they asked us whether they were free, that government cannot hold slaves, and as their masters abandoned them, for government to find and take care of, they are of course free. We have never had the slightest insubordination or difficulty. In a letter of mine, not written for publication, but which appeared in *The North American,* I said that life down here would make some people doubt the possibility of immediate freedom. I forget what induced me to say this exactly, but I must have been alluding to only such people as tried to put the negro on doubtful ground. These might well doubt the half-and-half policy, rather than the other; but I could have meant no others, for few of the superintendents think this experiment anything but a triumphant proof of the possibility of a quiet, orderly, profitable and immediate emancipation.

You ask me to consider the master also. Considering him as coolly as I can—he being such a devastator of our country—I think he has broken the compact which our fathers made in his favor, and to the damage of the third party. Now, it seems to me we are in honor bound to take the chance they have given us by making our compact null, to do justly by that third party, so unconsidered and so wronged before. That we should persist in being observant of a compact they reject, seems of no use, and to still refuse justice to those who cry to us for it is surely a crime, since we helped to fasten the injustice upon them.

You say there are no bounds nor stopping-place in the negro question. None short of emancipation, surely, and that that will end the greatest troubles the experiment here proves, by showing how easy it is. These people have been suddenly freed by thousands, and yet see the safety here. We sleep every night with no fastening but a latch on the window of the house, and any negro wanting Mr. Pierce or Capt. Hooper can and does walk in to find him. They know the door is not fastened, and that the house is full of tempting things—money, sugar, clothes, watches—and yet we have never been disturbed, nor had a pin's worth taken from the house. We have safety and they have peace, industry and freedom, with perfect harmony between us, and no authority but the distant "government" to hold over them. "Law" they will obey, and feel a pride in knowing that they are doing it. These cotton-field negroes, too, are the lowest in the country. They have been treated far worse than any account of slavery I ever read states. Of this I think any one can be assured who goes into their houses as often and searchingly as we do.

Immediate emancipation throughout the country might perhaps not be quite so successful as here at first, only because it would be so hard to get the old masters so completely out of the way as they are here. But I believe it would be a glorious success if conducted as I have heard was the plan of the French emancipations. The plantations were under the charge of government officials with a fixed salary. Each negro family was allowed a house and as much ground as they were willing to work. For these they paid a low rent to government, and had all the profits for themselves. Those who neglected their land so that it became unprofitable were put to work on roads and other public works. This was profitable to government, elevating to the negro, and safe for the community, and I hope some such plan can be carried out wherever there are slaves. The first necessity to secure quiet and safety is a proclamation of freedom. Without it the negroes are restless and distrustful. I think the first and most necessary idea which must be given them, in order to raise them to a hopeful effort at improvement, is that they are to have the *security* which only freedom can give. I speak from no theory, but from the knowledge I have of the feelings of those negroes here who are claimed by loyalists, and who consequently feel less hopeful of liberty than the rest. I have talked with many of them, have listened to their fears and complaints, and they are just such as a sensible white laborer might feel who was not sure that all his efforts for his family might not be turned to a master's profit and his own loss—a very discouraging state of mind.

This fear of a return to the old state and relations would be a great preventive to progress were the loyal masters ever reinstated over their plantations. I cannot bring myself to suppose such folly as that the disloyal ever will be. But to prevent persistent interference and discouragement on their part, I think that when emancipation is finally declared, the best thing to do with them—they being conquered, of course—would be to banish them from the country. Then the experiment could be carried on in peace on the land so justly confiscated.

We cannot help dreaming of a final grand triumph of our little emancipation scheme, put into such pleasant operation on these islands, you see. It would be such a beautiful and happy termination of all our troubles, that I cannot help thinking all the country might be as we are, and picturing to myself the ease with which all this, and why not more, could be accomplished. In these dark times, we need some hopeful thought to take refuge in.

We enjoyed Mr. McKim's visit exceedingly. I hope next fall to see you and some others of the Committee, but suppose few would venture here during the hot season. I have found your hints as to means to preserve health here of the greatest service to me and to others. It has not been extremely warm, as we have a sea breeze every day, but yet it is warm enough to make us think pantingly of sea shores and mountains. I suppose the thermometer has not been below eighty day or night for a month, but I have not kept accurate account. It seldom rises higher than ninety-five, but it is over ninety nearly every day. In a carriage it would be much higher. My thermometer is in the coolest place I can find in the second story piazza, out of all reflection of the sun's rays.

Miss Murray's school gives us great satisfaction. She is quite elated by the progress of her pupils. The adults of two and the children of one plantation attend it. She has begun with the adults upon the word system which you recommended me to try, and she uses the Bible readers with great success. But as it is still an experiment to her, she cannot tell whether it will be possible to adhere to the plan. She thinks so, however. She is an enthusiast in teaching, and has the art of keeping up an unflagging interest during the whole session, so I think her pupils will do well. I wish we had more teachers. All who have come out in that capacity, or nearly all, have slid into superintendents. I am exceedingly sorry more Philadelphians have not come. It is surely a credit to be in this field, and a profit too. I do not see why Boston should have the advantage of supplying superintendents for Philadelphia, nor the glory of having more zeal for this good work.

The store from Philadelphia is greatly needed. Gen. Saxton has supplied the want in Beaufort by opening a store there for negroes. But our people cannot get passes to cross the river. They have money, are eager to buy, and would support a good store. Suttlers are again establishing themselves here and preying upon the negroes. I hope there will be no delay in sending the goods. If you are afraid to send a storekeeper now, I will do what I can until fall, and would be glad to do anything to relieve the necessities of those who have got into the habit of coming to me for things they need. I especially pity the little children, who are suffering with teething and summer complaints. They have only the hominy; no change, and they sicken at it. They almost starve for the want of food they can relish. Molasses they cannot be allowed to eat, and sugar is very difficult to get—or hard bread, or anything, indeed. The island will, however, soon be rationed, and these things more abundant.

I have distributed nearly all the clothing—all, indeed, but the few things we think best to keep here for sudden emergencies. The recent evacuation of several islands has thrown a large number of refugees upon our charity. This has been a very sad business. The superintendents from Edisto are greatly disappointed, and it is a very vexing thing to think that much of the proof of the feasibility of emancipation will be lost in losing these crops. Thousands of dollars worth of cotton and corn have been abandoned. And this need not have been done had the superintendents had their way. They petitioned for guns to drill their field hands; not giving them to the negroes, but keeping them in their own possession and having a stated hour for drill. Gen. Hunter granted them guns, but some under-officer prevented their delivery. The superintendents, therefore, could only leave the island when the soldiers left, taking with them their people, who are quartered on St. Helena. We have twenty guns on this place and our men drill well. Their faculty of imitation makes them apt in it.

FREEDOM'S GRAND OPPORTUNITY.

[RICHARD BUSTEED, heretofore known as a pro-slavery Democrat, made a speech at the late war meeting in this city, from which we give an extract.]

WE meet to inflame zeal, to inspire loyalty, and to declare to our President and his Cabinet that the City of New York—the great commercial metropolis of the country—favors the suppression of this most wicked rebellion, by the prompt, free, fearless use of every and any means necessary to crush it out at once and forever (great cheering). What these means are, the Executive is charged with the responsibility of deciding; but, as he has recently, in a well-considered letter, declared his readiness to hear suggestions, and give to them all proper consideration, I claim the right and embrace this occasion to say that it is my deliberate conviction that the cause of this rebellion is slavery, and that the cause and the effect must perish or survive in force together ("Good," "good"). For one, I sincerely believe if slavery lives the republic dies ("That's the talk"). And I deny that this government, struck at and attempted to be destroyed by the Slave Power, should do anything to preserve slavery as stock in trade for a future rebellion. God has decreed that their sin shall perish with them! This is Freedom's grand oppportunity, and no man, not himself at heart tyrannic, dishonest and cruel, but will rejoice that the Republic of America is ere long to be disenthralled by the genius of universal emancipation. All hail the day! (Great cheering.) In this connection, I have a word or two to say to men who, like myself, of Irish birth, have sought and found a home in the United States of America. It is supposed by some of my countrymen, and they have been taught to think so by bad designing men of the class known as politicians, that, if the emancipation of the black race should be one of the results of the war made upon us by the Southern slaveholders, an exodus of that race to the Northern States would immediately follow, and a new and distasteful element of rivalry in labor be produced here, to the disadvantage of the white working-man. Now, this is simply absurd. No such consequence would or could follow from the freedom of the blacks. Residence is not a matter of mere choice. It is controlled by great natural and philosophical laws, to the acceptance of which all men are held by an imperious necessity. Which of us could, for example, live in the heart of Ethiopia, although our revenue should be a million times what it is in the State of New York? So, the swarthy child of the torrid zones cannot live amid the snows of Northern latitudes. He never can enter their fields of labor as a competitor. The country is in imminent peril. Traitors in arms menace and assault the people and their rulers; citizens are being ruthlessly slain; homes and hearts are made desolate; constitutional obligations and compacts are whistled down the winds, and the sacred name of revolution perverted to the abominable uses of treason and rebellion. This is not the time to discuss how far the government will be justified by the Constitution, or previously existing laws, in using this, that or the other, as a means of reëstablishing the national authority and maintaining the national power. *Salus populi suprema est lex.* Self-preservation is the first law of nature. Nor is this the time to regard the condition of the country from any political standpoint. In this hour party must be forgotten. There is a great fight on hand between democracy and aristocracy ("That's true"), between the privileges of the few and the rights of the multitude, between caste and republican equality, and he is the genuine democrat who loves liberty more than slavery. The democracy that will not endure this test is spurious. My own position is easily declared. I *was* a Democrat. I *am* a loyal lover of my country, whose free institutions I do not care to outlive ("Bravo"). I *will be* what her necessities, the convictions of my intelligence, and the dictates of my conscience make me. If this be treason to party, party can make the most of it ("Good," "good," and applause).

A LETTER FROM L. MARIA CHILD.

EMANCIPATION AND AMALGAMATION.

To the Editor of The N. Y. Tribune.

SIR: A gentleman in Maryland, to whom I sent my Tract on West India Emancipation, entitled "The Right Way the Safe Way," replied:

> "On the wisdom of emancipation, and as proving that the right way is the safe way, I think your pamphlet is unanswerable. But here other things than wisdom are to be met. One of the most foolish and yet most potent assertions is that negroes and whites will amalgamate if the slaves are freed. My own belief, founded on very sufficient reasons, is that slavery, and not freedom, is the fruitful source of amalgamation; but I have no figures or evidence of any kind to prove this, other than what I see around me. If you have any statistics on this subject, which you think would be useful to the cause of Emancipation, you would much oblige me by forwarding them."

In reply, I wrote as follows:

> "I am not aware that any statistics are on record concerning the subject of your inquiry. The outcry about future amalgamation is merely one of the artful dodges by which slaveholders and their allies seek to evade the main question. Of course, anybody who knows anything about slavery is well aware that amalgamation is the universal and inevitable result of that system. Gen. Lafayette, during his last visit to this country, remarked upon the *great change of complexion* that had taken place among the slaves since the period of our Revolution. I could furnish you with innumerable advertisements from Southern papers describing runaway slaves with 'sandy hair,' 'blue eyes,' 'ruddy complexion,' 'easily passing for a white man,' etc., to say nothing of 'yellow boys' and 'light mulattoes.' But this is unnecessary; for your letter admits that slavery is a fruitful source of amalgamation."

Whether amalgamation would take place *legally,* as it now does *illegally,* if the slaves were freed, is not a question susceptible of *proof.* It must of course, remain a matter of *opinion* till experience furnishes evidence. But it seems to me quite superfluous to trouble ourselves about it. If there *is* an instinctive antipathy between the races, it will take care of itself, as natural antipathies and attractions are always sure to do. If there is *not* any natural antipathy, then the horror of amalgamation has no rational foundation. My own opinion is that there is *not* a natural antipathy between white and colored people. My reason for thinking so is that wherever the two classes have been brought into vicinity they have invariably mixed extensively; and, in view of their relative positions, it must be admitted that the mixture has been sought by the *whites.*

My own belief also is that prejudice against complexion is entirely founded upon pride, and grows out of the debased and degraded condition in which our laws and customs keep the colored people. This is sufficiently proved by the fact that slaveholders have the utmost horror of *legalized* amalgamation, while they have none at all of *illegal.* They would consider their families disgraced forever if a son should *marry* the most beautiful and intelligent of quadroons, but are quite undisturbed by his brood of illegitimate mulatto children, owning some "Coal-black Rose" for their mother.

From all the information I can obtain, I should judge that there is much *less* mixture of white and colored in the British West Indies than there was before emancipation. The bad habits formed in slavery still cling to them in a considerable degree; for generations must be educated under better influences before the corrupt effects of a system so thoroughly unclean can be washed out of the character of a people. But the colored inhabitants of those islands are gradually acquiring habits of self-respect, and they more and more discountenance neglect of the marriage ceremony. Marriages have occurred between white and colored, and in some cases they have been persons of high position. Some judges and lawyers of distinction in the West Indies have married handsome, intelligent and well-educated mulatto ladies, and nothing has occurred to make them ashamed of their choice; for their wives preside over their households in a manner so graceful and dignified as to command respect even from *American* guests. But such cases are exceptional. Prejudices wear out slowly, and finally disappear, without violent collisions with the changing state of things. Carlyle said, very wisely: "Be not dismayed. The old skin never falls off till a new skin has formed under it." We may safely trust to this law of nature. Legalized amalgamation can never become common so long as there is a prevailing prejudice against color; and when that "phantom dynasty" passes away with the centuries, its disappearance will harm no one, and posterity will wonder at the power it once exercised, as we now marvel at the terror our ancestors had of witchcraft. It is the duty of our day to obey the plain dictates of justice and humanity, which are also the dictates of enlightened policy. God will not fail in his promise that "the effects of righteousness shall be peace."

This outcry about amalgamation, as the result of emancipation, is simply ridiculous, in view of the swarms of mulattoes, quadroons and octoroons, produced by slavery; but in view of the momentous issues now at stake in this country, it is worse than ridiculous, it is heartless, wicked trifling with the destinies of a great nation.

Candid, reflecting, disinterested men, all over the civilized world, agree that slavery is a bad system, injurious to *all* parties connected with it. Statistics abundantly prove that agriculture, commerce, manufactures, morals, education and internal improvements of all sorts, are rapidly advanced by free institutions. There is ample evidence of this in the comparative progress of different States in this country. Virginia furnishes one of these instructive illustrations. She surpasses other States in richness of soil, attractions of scenery and climate, wealth of mineral resources, noble rivers, and commodious harbors. At the time of the Revolution, her commerce was four times that of New-York; but in 1853 the imports into New York were valued at $180,000,000, while those of Virginia were less than $400,000. "Lands in Virginia, capable of producing from 25 to 30 bushels of wheat to the acre, and only 24 hours by rail from New York, are to be had for one-fortieth the price of similar land in New York itself." Such was the comparative value of land in those two States in 1856.

The prosperity of any State depends very largely on an intelligent, thriving *middle class.* Where slavery exists, society inevitably arranges itself into two classes, very widely separated from each other, and mutually deteriorated in character by the pernicious system which gives them no interests in common. The masters are unenterprising and indolent, from pride and inertia produced by the habit of living on another's earnings; while the slaves are lazy and shiftless, because they have no hope of bettering their condition by exertion. Slavery endangers our republican institutions by rendering impossible that enlightened middle class, which forms the solid foundation of republics. Freedom of speech, freedom of the press and free extension of knowledge, are the bulwarks of liberty; but slavery annuls them all, because their exercise is incompatible with its own safety. The phrase, "irrepressible conflict," merely expresses the *moral* antagonism, which *must,* in the very nature of things, exist between slavery and freedom. Slavery cannot preserve its own existence without undermining and eventually destroying that on which the very life of free institutions depends. On the other hand, free institutions cannot carry out the principles on which they are founded, without bringing the permanence of slavery into peril, even where there is no such intention. The principles of slavery, or the principles of freedom, *must* inevitably rule in this country. Is there anything so lovely, so beneficial or so reputable in slavery, that men should be willing to sacrifice this republic for the sake of preserving it?

It was formerly asserted that emancipation would produce massacres, fires, and all sorts of horrors. But England, France, the Dutch, the Swedes and the Danes successively emancipated their slaves, and not a throat was cut, or a building fired, in consequence. That pretext being taken away, slaveholders now say: "The two races cannot live together in freedom. If we emancipate, universal amalgamation will be the consequence." What a laughable contradiction there is between the two propositions! If there is such imminent *danger* of mixture, what becomes of the alleged *natural antipathy* of the races?

I presume you are aware that slavery has forced even the United States census into its service; making use of *compulsory* labor, as usual. In order to prove that freedom produces insanity in colored people, it returns an extraordinary number of colored lunatics in the free States; but, as often happens to dealers in falsehood, a hole is left in the bag, through which the cat's head and claws peep out; for some places represented as encumbered with colored lunatics had not a single colored resident. Mr. De Bow, the unscrupulous champion of slavery, gives no particular statistics of amalgamation; but in his Compendium of the United States Census for 1850, he makes a remark apparently intended to show that where the colored people are free, amalgamation increases. He says: "While nearly half of the colored population in the non-slaveholding States are mulatto, only about one-ninth in the slaveholding States are mulatto." His own tables, in the same census, show that less than one-third of the colored population of the free States are mulattoes. If you carefully cipher out these tables, you will find that in the free States there is a considerable fraction less than *one* mulatto to every two hundred whites; while in the slave States there are more than *eleven* mulattoes to every two hundred whites. A careful computation of the proportions shows thirteen times more amalgamation at the South than in the North; but in making this estimate an important fact is kept out of view, viz: that very many of our colored citizens originated in the South, and a large proportion came to us already bleached to various shades of brown or yellow, by plantation processes. This is meagre information in answer to your request for statistics on the subject, but it is all I can furnish.

With the hope that Maryland will ere long be blessed with free institutions,

I am respectfully yours, L. MARIA CHILD.

REPLY TO THE PRESIDENT BY THE COLORED PEOPLE OF NEWTOWN, L. I.

AT a mass meeting of the colored people of Newtown, L. I., held on the 20th ult., the following reply to the President's Address on Colonization was read and adopted:

We, the colored citizens of Queens Co., N. Y., having met in mass meeting, according to public notice, to consider the speech of Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States, addressed to a Committee of Free Colored Men, called at his request at the White House, in Washington, on Thursday, Aug. 14, 1862, and to express our views and opinions of the same; and whereas, the President desires to know in particular our views on the subject of being colonized in Central America, or some other foreign country, we will take the present opportunity to express our opinions most respectfully and freely, since as loyal Union colored Americans and Christians we feel bound to do so.

First: We rejoice that we are colored Americans, but deny that we are a "different race of people," as God has made of one blood all nations that dwell on the face of the earth, and has hence no respect of men in regard to color, neither ought men to have respect to color, as they have not made themselves or their color.

Second: The President calls our attention particularly to this question, "Why should we leave this country?" This, he says, is perhaps the first question for proper consideration. We will answer this question by showing why we should remain in it: This is our country by birth, consequently we are acclimated, and, in other respects, better adapted to it than to any other country. This is our native country; we have as strong attachment naturally to our native hills, valleys, plains, luxuriant forests, flowing streams, mighty rivers and lofty mountains as any other people. Nor can we fail to feel a strong attachment to the whites, with whom our blood has been commingling from the earliest days of this our country. Neither can we forget and disown our white kindred. This is the country of our choice, being our fathers' country.

Third: Again, we are interested in its welfare above every other country; we love this land, and have contributed our share to its prosperity and wealth. This we have done by cutting down forests, subduing the soil, cultivating fields, constructing roads, digging canals. We have, too, given our aid in building cities and villages, in building and supporting churches and schools. We have aided in procuring its mineral resources, as coal, iron, and the precious metals; helped in the construction of railroads, bridges, telegraph lines, steamboats and ships; assisted in cattle-breeding, raising various kinds of produce—as corn, wheat, oats, potatoes, cotton, rice, tobacco, the leading staples of the country, etc. In these ways, and many others too numerous to be named here, have we aided the nation in her growth and progress, and contributed to her general prosperity.

Fourth: Again, we believe, too, we have the right to have applied to ourselves those rights named in the Declaration of Independence—"that all men are born free and equal, and have certain inalienable rights, among which are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness"—rights which we have derived from the Creator; since we helped to gain our country's independence, under Washington, on her battle-fields, as well as in the corn-fields, and we helped to maintain the same in 1814 under General Jackson at New Orleans, and are willing and ready even now to fight our country's battles against slaveholding traitors and rebels, who are slaying thousands of freemen, and seeking the very life-blood of the nation; and we hope and believe that the time is not far distant when, instead of being called upon to leave our country, the loyal and just people of the country will pass judgment on the men who stopped the million of our brave hearts, strong arms and willing hands desiring to fight our country's battles in her most trying hour and sorest need. While bleeding and struggling for her life against slaveholding traitors, and at this very time, when our country is struggling for life, and one million freemen are believed to be scarcely sufficient to meet the foe, we are called upon by the President of the United States to leave this land and go to another country, to carry out his favorite scheme of colonization. But at this crisis we feel disposed to refuse the offer of the President, since the call of our suffering country is too loud and imperative to be unheeded.

Again, the President says that Congress has placed a sum of money at his disposition for the purpose of aiding the colonization of the people of African descent, or some portion of them, in some country, therefore making it his duty, as it had been a long time his inclination, to favor that course. Our answer is this: There is no country like our own. Why not declare slavery abolished, and favor our peaceful colonization in the rebel States, or some portion of them? We are all in favor of this, and we believe the majority of those who elected you to the office of the chief magistrate of the nation are in favor, also, of this measure. We believe that this would be a wise and just policy, and would receive the approbation of God and all good men. We would cheerfully return there, and give our most willing aid to deliver our loyal colored brethren and other Unionists from the tyranny of rebels to our government.

We colored people are all loyal men, which is more than any other class of people in the country can say. There are Yankee, English, Scotch, German and French rebels, but no colored rebels; and let us add, Mr. President, that no one suffers by our presence but rebels and traitors, and if we were permitted to fight our country's battles, and an army of colored men were permitted to march into those rebel States, well armed and equipped, we believe, with your Excellency, that the rebels would suffer from our presence, but the Union would be saved without spades and shovels.

Congress has also passed the Confiscation and Emancipation bill. Now, if the President is disposed to give the colored people the benefits guaranteed by that bill, and declare the rebel States free States, we would colonize ourselves in our native States, without the aid of the government, and the President might use the money to defray the expenses of the war.

In conclusion, we would say that, in our belief, the speech of the President has only served the cause of our enemies, who wish to insult and mob us, as we have, since its publication, been repeatedly insulted, and told that we must leave the country. Hence, we conclude that the policy of the President toward the colored people of this country *is a mistaken policy.*

THE NEGRO IN THE GREAT EXHIBITION.

[A correspondent of *The Tribune,* writing from London, Aug. 7, gives an account of what he saw in the International Exhibition. We take an extract.]

TO-DAY in my search for unfrequented walks, I came for the first time upon Liberia, which is stationed under one of the middle stairways. Among the various articles here collected are a respectable show of preserved fruits, samples of sugar, coarse and dark, a rather inferior quality of cotton, pea-nuts, and oil manufactured from the same, and several qualities of coffee. A prize medal has been awarded to one of these last; the berry is remarkably large and full. Conspicuous in the display are patchwork bed-quilts, rivaling in style and stiffness of design those of the "best bed" in a backwoods tavern. There is in the angular red "piny," with its straight, green stem and "diamond" shaped leaves, an unmistakable reminiscence of "Old Virginny." I smiled as I gazed on this evidence of the "civilization" attained at such cost to themselves and their race, and carried back to Africa by those poor colonized slaves; but they have yet other reminiscences of their sojourn in a "Christian land," and as I thought of this, there flashed across me like a sudden pain, the vision of a certain picture in the English gallery here—the only one in all its miles of pictures which treats a distinctively American subject. It is entitled "The Slave Hunt!" The figures represented are life size. A large, powerfully built negro has been overtaken by the bloodhounds and stands "at bay" in a swamp. He wears only a tattered remnant of pantaloons, and the broad shoulders and brawny arms are quite bare, showing the tense action of the muscle. The handcuff remains on the left wrist, and the chain falls over the clenched left hand. In the right is a hatchet, and the arm is raised in the act of striking. The foe first come lies slain at his feet, and now as the fatal axe descends on the second, who with fiery eyes and open slavering jaws, and gleaming teeth, crouches bristling before him ready for the spring, his fierce eye catches that of the third and arrests him, cowed for the instant in the very act of springing. You feel that the dogs are doomed, and that their masters would be also were they but three, and ventured to attack this roused man now with no weapons save such as his. But we know it is not thus that they are accustomed to approach a slave at bay, and therefore forbear to contemplate the probable fate of this one, and of his mulatto wife, who, cowering behind, glares over his shoulder at the assailants, attired in a striped cotton skirt, painfully suggestive of some cast-off Fourth-of-July-celebration banner put to economic use. Is it not a pity that the Commissioners who considerately excluded from the galleries all historical pieces commemorating English victories, lest the pride of some guest from other nations might be touched, should not have excluded this painting as well, so that an American might pass through the gallery without being made to blush for his nationality. Or, rather, is it not a pity that we should not always and everywhere have been met by such reminders of our national disgrace, until the disgrace itself had long ago become intolerable?

An English gentleman who takes a *Times*-ish view of the present state of affairs in our country (as most English people certainly do), lately called my attention to this picture, and asked, in an agreeably sarcastic tone: "Can you possibly explain its meaning, coming as you do from a land of freedom?" "That? oh! certainly—it is—a—design for the new coat-of-arms to be adopted by your friends of the Southern Confederacy in the event of "recognition" by England and France. The bloodhounds have, I believe, some allegorical significance relating to the armies of those nations."

"Ah, indeed—it would seem, however, for the present, a fitter emblem for the Northern side. We hear nothing, so far, of *Southern Generals* officiating as slave-catchers!"

After such an extinguishing rejoinder, one could only beg an adjournment of the subject until the hoped-for proclamation of universal emancipation, as a "war measure" or otherwise, shall have made it clear on whose escutcheon such an illustration really does belong. God send it may not be long in coming.

S. L. P.

ANTI-ABOLITION RANT.

> MR. PHILLIPS declares that from 1843 to 1861 he was a disunionist, and sought to break this Union! So far, then, as regards that period, there can be no mistake. *He was, to all intents and purposes, at that time, just as much a traitor at heart as Barnwell Rhett.* This qualifying remark that he sought disunion by means which the Constitution itself warranted and protected, amounts to nothing. Rhett, in preaching "peaceable secession," made the same claim, and with no greater absurdity.—*N. Y. World.*

This is a fair specimen of the anti-abolition rant which a few papers are disseminating in their daily and weekly issues. More arrant nonsense could not be written. Barnwell Rhett is a traitor. Why? Because he took up arms against his country, or encouraged those who did. Wendell Phillips is also a traitor. Why? Did he do the same thing? Oh no, but he advocated disunion. Is it treason to advocate disunion? Certainly not, unless it be proposed to carry it out by force of arms. Any member of Congress might rise in his place and propose to relinquish the State of Maine, or purchase Cuba, either of which would be a very foolish proposition, but who would think of branding the proposal as treason? It is only when it wants to make a case against an Abolitionist, that *The World* forgets the meaning of words. Mr. Phillips's profession that he would have dissolved the Union by constutional means "amounts to nothing," says *The World.* Proof: Barnwell Rhett advocated "peaceable secession." The honest purpose, then, of Mr. Phillips, is just as criminal as the hypocritical pretension of the rebel. The false excuse of the one is equally valid with the real excuse of the other. If the Southern secessionists had confined themselves to peaceful petitions to Congress in favor of separation, *The World* well knows that whatever else they might have been, they would not have been traitors. In asserting that "Wendell Phillips is just as much a traitor at heart as Barnwell Rhett," *The World* is doing its best to obliterate all just distinctions between treason and loyalty, and to bring us into a state of absolute anarchy, for the attainment of partisan objects. The infamous work that such sheets are accomplishing would array Northern society, party against party, in fiercer and more bloody than Robespierrean hate. There is too much reason to fear that these mischief-makers will succeed in their diabolical designs. The only hope is that *The World* and *Herald* and their abettors may find themselves in so helpless a minority as to be unable to accomplish that to which all their efforts so manifestly tend.—*Am. Baptist.*

THE PEOPLE AHEAD OF THE ADMINISTRATION.

Washington Correspondence of The Independent.

COMING over the road between New York and Washington two or three days since, I overheard a conversation between two Jersey farmers, which afforded quite as much edification as amusement, and which I could not but desire that some of the "powers that be" might have heard. It was almost literally as follows:

First Farmer—Squally news from Washington to-night.

Second Farmer—Indeed! I have not seen the evening papers—what is it?

F. F.—The rebels are advancing in great numbers upon Washington. They seem to be in earnest this time, and it looks as if they might really take the capital.

S. F.—Another Washington panic! Well, now, I don't wish to be called ungenerous or hot-headed, but, neighbor, do you know that I am beginning to believe that we shall never accomplish anything till the rebels *have* taken Washington? What have we done in Virginia for a year and a half but get into panics and defend the Capital? *Some great blow, like the loss of the Capital, will drive the government to hit the enemy where he is weak—to make use of the slave to win victory.*

It struck me that the Jersey farmer understood the philosophy of the matter a great deal better than some people who are called statesmen. I am the more convinced of it since I have seen Northern people in their Northern homes. It is a sad thing for the best interests of the nation that so many of our leading public men are compelled to spend nearly all their time in Washington. They do not understand the sentiment of the people. A member of Congress last winter hesitated to vote for a confiscation and emancipation bill. He went home and spent ten days among his constituents, and when he returned here some of his friends were surprised at the promptitude with which he voted for every measure looking to legislation in favor of emancipation or confiscation. One of his colleagues asked an explanation, and got the following reply: "Go home and see your constituents. If you have constitutional scruples, the country air and a little talk with the people will scatter them!" If the leading members of the government would spend two months among the people of the North, and especially that portion of the people who gave to them their present position, they would come back new men, real statesmen, instead of hesitating politicians. But the grand events of the hour are not without their effect upon President and Cabinet members. The effect is not as powerful as one could wish, but there is an effect and a corresponding advance toward the right. The doctrine so ably put forth by Gen. Mitchel in his New York speech finds considerable favor in circles where one would not naturally expect to find radicalism. Conservative pro-slavery men begin to talk of freeing the slaves as "a military question." Mr. Weed and Mr. Seward talk of it. Democrats are coming to agree with Hunter and Fremont on this great controversy. The drift of the tide is in the right direction, and that is worth much. "We are *drifting* right," said a gentleman to one of the most earnest of the anti-slavery Senators. "How sad and humiliating it is to own that at such an hour as this our fortunes are trusted *to the drift of the tide!*" was the reply. "And yet," continued the first gentleman, it is of incalculable importance that we are even *drifting* toward the right position." And it is so. There are many hopeful signs that the government will do right. There is increased vigor in every department of the government. As the horrors of the war are brought under the very eye of the President, he gains a more thorough view of our situation. All day Saturday, Mr. Lincoln could hear the guns of the battle. The battle lasted all day. It had continued at least two days when Saturday's sun appeared in the horizon. This dreadful fighting almost within sight of the Capital compels the most timid to the consideration of all the means within the reach of the government for triumphing over the rebellion.

LETTER FROM PARSON BROWNLOW.

TO THE GOVERNORS OF THE LOYAL STATES.

GENTLEMEN: I do not wish to figure as "a busybody in other men's matters," but feeling and knowing that the *crisis* of our national affairs is now upon us, and believing that the next sixty days will determine the question whether we are to maintain the supremacy of the government, or whether the rebellion is to prevail (I have a personal acquaintance with many of you—Governors Curtin, Morton, Tod, Morgan, Buckingham, Andrew, and others—and I bear testimony that you have done much, and done it well, wisely and in due time, to promote the best interests of our country in this the day of her trial; much remains to be done, and you, gentlemen, representing more than twenty States, have it in your power to do more than any other class of men)—let me impress upon your minds the alarming fact that the rebels have now more men in the field, and in camps of instruction, than we have—having brought *all their white men into requisition*, and having made slavery an element of strength by retaining the slaves upon their plantations to raise supplies for their armies. Let me further impress upon your minds the startling fact that the rebel advances are simultaneous all over the country, and exhibit system and concert of action, with a zeal and talent displayed in the execution of their plans worthy of a better cause than that in which they are engaged. New Orleans, Memphis, Nashville, Louisville, Cincinnati, Washington, Baltimore, Harrisburg and Philadelphia are all threatened by an enemy that shows prodigious activity, talents and strength. Indeed, they have us now where they had us *thirteen months ago*, with this addition, that they have invaded Maryland and Ohio. If they march upon us, and their daring plans are not properly met and most signally defeated, it will be our fault.

Now, I propose that you, as Governors of the loyal States, meet at some convenient point, without delay, and as the representatives of your people, address yourselves, in unmistakable terms, to the civil and military authorities of the United States. I will not say *what* you shall tell them, but I will, with all due deference to your superior abilities, *suggest* a few points that you might make, and forcibly impress upon the minds of our authorities:

First. Urge the government to draft, without delay, half a million of men, in addition to the force already in the field and in camps of instruction. And, upon the score of *economy*, apprise the government of the fact that it will require less money to furnish, equip, and sustain a million for two years.

Second. Enter your protest against every other Brigadier and Major-General in our army being a candidate for the Presidency during the existence of this war, and, as a consequence, shaping his course in that direction.

Third. Enter your most solemn protest against one-half of the members of the Cabinet looking to the Presidency, and shaping their conduct of the war accordingly.

Fourth. Call upon the President, whose honesty and patriotism I do not question, to reorganize his Cabinet and the army, and to place men at the heads of both who will not study how to kill off leading rebels without *hurting* them!

Fifth. Advise the civil and military authorities of the country, and the politicians, to cease this war upon the everlasting "nigger" until we conquer their *white masters* and arrest the onward march of their desperate and arrogant owners. Meanwhile, let the negroes be seized upon and urged in every possible way to crush out this infernal rebellion!

Sixth. Advise your Senators and Representatives in Congress, and the members of your State Legislatures, as well as the people, to cease to make efforts to revive and reorganize old political parties, and to organize *our new party, to be known as the* UNCONDITIONAL UNION PARTY OF AMERICA!

Seventh. Let the government and the army know what they seem never to have learned—that is to say, that the rebels are a *unit*, fighting with a desperation and skill never surpassed by any people on earth; while we, who have a noble army of brave men, with money, and credit, all else necessary, and truth on our side, are divided and distracted—while we are tolerating traitors and tories in our midst.

Eighth. Inform our government and people that our ship of State is now in a heavy sea, and that at no period since the rebellion broke out has so deep a depression fallen upon the hearts of loyal citizens as at present!

I would, gentlemen, start a new paper at once, at some eligible point, and urge all these considerations, and more, upon the minds of the loyal-hearted men of the country, but for two good and sufficient reasons. First, I should be arrested by the United States authorities, for stating facts, opposing follies, and declaring the honest convictions of my mind. And next, such is the rapid advance of the rebel forces that I should expect them to crush out my paper, as they did in Tennessee on the 25th of October last. I may be imprisoned for writing this article. I am not concerned about that. I suffered imprisonment, and the confiscation of all I had, on the other side of the line, for adhering to the truth, and I am ready to go to prison here for the same offence. If this rebellion is not put down, I have nothing to live for, and would as soon die in prison as elsewhere.

I improved the last Sabbath by preaching in the open air, to the Philadelphia Corn Exchange Regiment, a noble set of men, equipped by a noble band of patriots. I improve this Sabbath, Sept. 7th, by writing this address to the Governors of the loyal States! W. G. BROWNLOW.

Comment by the Tribune.

* * We listen to Parson Brownlow deferentially; we give currency to his counsels; we for the most part agree with him. But what *can* the man mean by such recommendations as these?

> "*Fifth.* Advise the civil and military authorities of the country, and the politicians, to cease this war upon the everlasting 'nigger' until we conquer their *white masters* and arrest the onward march of their desperate and arrogant owners. Meanwhile, let the negroes be seized upon and urged in every possible way to crush out this infernal rebellion!"

Here we see a distinct recognition by the Parson that "their white masters," the "the arrogant owners" of the slaves, are the responsible owners and backers of "this infernal rebellion." Adventurers and ambitious men who own no negroes were among its authors, as millions of poor whites are among its instruments and dupes; but slavery is (as Gen. Jackson and Col. Benton clearly foresaw and predicted) the motive-power of the rebellion. Were slavery dead to-day, the rebellion would die to-morrow; for every man would feel and know that there remained no motive, no excuse, for destroying the Union.

What madness, then, what utter inanity and inconsequence, is this babble of dropping "the nigger question" while we save the Union! As well might Pharaoh's counsellors of old have insisted on stopping all discussion, pro and con, of "the everlasting Israelite's grievance question," in order to devote every energy to staying the plagues, saving the land from desolation, and its first-born from death. How *can* men talk this way who really mean to have the rebellion suppressed?

The "everlasting nigger," Mr. Brownlow! is only another form of the main question—"Shall the rebellion be suppressed and the Union restored?" Take from the rebellion the support it receives from the labor of slaves, and it must tumble forthwith into helpless collapse, into irremediable ruin. It is slavery which to-day keeps in the field the armies who have their bloody bayonets at the throat of the Union. It is slavery which feeds coarsely and miserably the families of the rebel soldiery. And *if the Union cause were openly and fully identified with freedom for all, this maintenance of the rebellion by slavery could not last three months.*

Slavery upholds the rebellion while the Union upholds slavery—that is the fatal complication. The Albany *Argus* says of *The Tribune* that

> "Before the outbreak of the rebellion, it taught that there could be no war because the slaves were in a state of incipient insurrection, and, with such an element of internal destruction, the Southern States would not venture into a conflict."

Well, sir, that is the exact, literal truth, if the war for the Union had only been so conducted as to *make* slavery the weakness instead of the strength of the rebellion. Had we understood that the Democratic and Border State influence would coerce the government into upholding slavery to rebels, we might have held a different view. But who could have anticipated that we should fight the slaveholders' rebellion with such proclamations as this of Gen. McClellan?

> "Notwithstanding all that has been said by the traitors to induce you to believe that our advent among you will be signalized by interference with your slaves, understand one thing clearly—not only will we abstain from all such interference, but we will, on the contrary, with an iron hand, *crush any attempt at insurrection on their part.*"

Or this address of Gen. Robert Patterson to his soldiers?

> "You must bear in mind that you are going for the good of the whole country, and that, while it is your duty to punish sedition, you must protect the loyal, and, should the occasion offer, *at once suppress servile insurrection.*"

How under heaven *could* slavery weaken the slaveholders' rebellion while the Union Generals threatened with summary vengeance every slave who should resist it.

Parson Brownlow, we are sorry—very sorry—that you feel constrained to speak with such a muffled and mumbling voice. *You know* that slavery is the mainspring of this rebellion, and that the latter will never be put down till the former is broken. *You know* that the policy our government, under Democratic and Border-State dictation, is pursuing, tends directly to strengthen the rebellion by all the power of slavery. You talk of the negroes being "seized upon and urged in every way to crush out this infernal rebellion." You may "urge" them any way you please; but you can only "urge" them with effect by *proclaiming the freedom of their race*, and treating them as human beings. Seizing them will do no good; they have been seized abundantly already; what is needed is to show them that it is their interest to uphold and strive for the Union cause. And that you will do by identifying that cause publicly and irrevocably with their own liberation. And it is the question of calling four million from the support of the rebellion to that of the Union that you slur as too ridiculous and contemptible to be considered—something utterly impertinent and out of place! Merciful Heaven! must this nation perish of such insane counsels? Will it not awake before its ruin is irrevocable?

National Anti-Slavery Standard.

WITHOUT CONCEALMENT—WITHOUT COMPROMISE

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 13, 1862.

CORRESPONDENTS will greatly oblige us by a careful observance of the following directions, viz.:

Letters enclosing matter for publication, or relating in any way to the editorial conduct of the paper, should be addressed, "EDITOR OF THE ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD, No. 48 BEEKMAN STREET, NEW YORK."

Letters enclosing subscriptions, or relating in any way to the business of the office, should be addressed, "PUBLISHER OF THE ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD, NO. 48 BEEKMAN STREET, NEW YORK."

OUR Pennsylvania, New Jersey and Delaware subscribers, especially those who are in arrears, are requested to remit the amount they owe to J. M. McKim, 106 North-Tenth street, Philadelphia, before the 1st of October.

TO-DAY AND ITS DEMANDS.

THE nation seems to be fast drifting towards the crisis of its fate. It must soon be decided whether or not it is still to have a name to live, or to perish from the face of the earth. To perish in its old nationality, that is, for its elements of life and recovery and growth in the intelligence, industry and enterprise of the inhabitants of the North cannot be destroyed, nor hindered from shaping themselves into a new polity out of the ruins of the old. But the possibility of conquering the rebellion and establishing the unity of the government over all the States will very soon be decided. We think that there is not much for us to say at this precise moment of our history. We have not been negligent in setting forth the cardinal measure upon which we believed, and still believe, that our success must turn. We have been instant in season and out of season in urging upon the government to cut off the base of the enemy's supplies in his rear, by guaranteeing to the slaves that furnish them their freedom, if they would desert his service for ours. We still believe that the adoption of that policy would have opened a wide road for an army with banners to march terribly over the enemy's country and possess it. And this without insurrection on the plantations, and with the loss of less than a tithe of the blood that has been poured out like water. The government has declined entering upon this way for its deliverance, when it was in the possession of a portion of the hostile territory and advancing farther into its heart, and this hope must be still deferred. It would be mere *brutum fulmen*, an empty and idle bravado, to issue an edict of general emancipation from behind the fortifications of Washington, with the enemy in its rear in Maryland, and when the instant duty of the hour is to save the Capital from sack and Pennsylvania from invasion.

The Abolitionists have not been sparing of their criticisms upon the conduct of the war by the government; but those strictures have ever been made in the spirit of loyalty and not of disaffection. We have cared nothing for the political antecedents of the Generals entrusted with carrying it on; we have only demanded that they should fight in the interest of the United States and not of the enemy. When the President avowed his intention of acting only as the public sentiment of the nation inspired him, we have done our best to inform and direct aright that popular opinion. As long as the enemy was fought, we had no doubt as to the inevitable bearing of the war upon slavery. We only feared that inefficiency or treachery lurked under the long delays and feeble activities of our Generals. We cannot believe that it was the latter, though such is the belief of tens of thousands; but that it was the former we fear is but too sadly proved by the present state of affairs. An army of seven hundred thousand men, after three abortive attempts to penetrate into the interior of the rebel country, reduced to a fragment by battle and disease, has had to betake itself behind the entrenched lines around Washington, and the best news that is vouchsafed to us is, that it is safe! In the meantime, the enemy is in Maryland, threatens to invade Pennsylvania, has possession of Kentucky, menaces Cincinnati and Louisville and has compelled the evacuation of Nashville. This is not an encouraging state of things, and it cannot be changed until the perils that surround us be fully understood. We would not exaggerate nor extenuate them. If anything can save the country, it is the full perception of the actual situation. It is but the turning of a die, as it were, which is to decide the future of this nation.

We spoke in our last paper of the resources of the enemy, which the authorities and the people generally have so strangely undervalued. We showed that the material for their rank and file was as abundant as our own and better for that purpose, while their officers are all of them as well educated for their business as those who have been bred at West Point. The very revolutionary character of their movement has brought to the head of their affairs, civil and military, talent of the very highest order. The best of our Generals have seemed to be overlaid with their scientific knowledge, and in almost every instance have been outgeneralled by men who were ready to break all the rules of warfare rather than be beaten. We apprehend that it is with war as Hoyle says it is with whist, the great master of the game is he who knows when the rules are to be disregarded. However it may be accounted for, the fact is certain, that the past fifteen months have been months of military disaster, and end just where they begun, under the earthworks about the seat of government. And worse than that, the enemy have been encouraged by their success to assume the offensive, and we cannot infer from the experience of the past year that this action of theirs is as desperate as we are told to believe it to be. And in this crisis of the nation's life, the President has given the command of the army to a General whose friends only claim for him skill in extricating himself from the difficulties of an undertaking in which he had failed. But we do not affirm that the President could have done otherwise. The admitted incapacity of the Generals entrusted with the advance into Virginia, proved by the late defeats, perhaps left him no alternative in the strait in which he found himself. The nation, we believe, will be willing to give Gen. McClellan a fair trial once more. It does not share in the jealousies of the camp or the court. All it asks is that the enemy be beaten, driven from Northern soil, and his own country occupied and held. Let Gen. McClellan do this, and he will meet with no ungenerous support from those at the North who have had the least faith in his fitness for the task. Let him fail, and both be and his superior will be held to a heavy responsibility and a bitter account.

The one thing to be done now, on the part of the people, is to give the government and its General a cordial and hearty support, and to furnish them with all the supplies they need for a last effort for our deliverance. This we say in no inconsistent spirit from our long controversy with the Constitution and the Union. By the act of rebellion the slave States forfeited all their privileges and immunities under the Constitution. Their slaves are no longer held by virtue of any provision of the national compact, and it is a simple act of constitutional duty that the President will perform should he ever make a formal statement of the fact. And his refusal or delay to do so does not alter this fact. Every act of our Generals for the comfort and aid of slaveholders was a crime not merely against God, morality and humanity, but against the Constitution and the laws. And should the rebels succeed in making their foothold in Maryland good, with the assistance of their sympathizers there who only wait for a reasonable external support to rise and help them, the fair opening for the inauguration of the policy of emancipation would be made. It would be at once effectual in reducing the State to obedience and turn the tide of war back again towards Richmond. And if then made a part of the proclaimed policy of invasion and reduction, carried out sincerely and thoroughly, and complete success would follow in the train of our forces. Unless this be done, and done soon enough, after it is possible, to be effectual, nothing but defeat and ruin can await us. The North cannot stand another such drain upon its labor, which is its life, as it has just willingly submitted to for the general good, while the labor of the rebels, which is their life, is left untouched and unmolested. "You take my life when you do take the means by which I live." And the life of the North or of the South depends upon the decision of the President in this regard. Should the wisdom inform his counsels which is profitable to direct him aright, the salvation of the nation, the preservation of the Union, the renovation of Southern society and the future greatness and glory of the nation are sure and certain. But if, through vacillation or cowardice, the golden moment be suffered to escape, and the rebels should defeat Gen. McClellan and gain possession of the Capital—which no one can now say is an impossibility—the success of the rebellion would be an accomplished fact, and we should have to take the consequences. What these consequences may be we dread to think of. Revolution at the North, factions fighting in our streets, the despotism of an army, the overthrow of our civil rights and the ruin of our prosperity, might follow as a punishment for our follies and our crimes. And who knows that we might not be reduced to welcome that European intervention which we now so indignantly reject, to intercede with Jefferson Davis to grant us terms as little ignominious as may be! What lower deep than that can yawn in the depths of infamy?

PRAYER FOR THE COUNTRY.

WHITTIER long ago warned us against men in the Church, and in the pulpit, who, in aid of oppression, and in opposition to reform, "make truth a lie." This use of truth for the purpose of deceiving, this crafty presentation of an admitted truth in such manner as to obscure or conceal another truth most needful to be admitted and acted upon, is now practised with renewed vigor and assiduity. Satan still finds it needful to present himself in the form of an angel of light.

As more clergymen and more church-members are getting converted to the doctrines of practical reform, those of them who still labor for the maintenance of slavery are pulling with renewed zeal those strings of "other-world-liness" by which the Church has been made, and kept, the great bulwark of slavery. In pastoral Associations and Conferences, ever since any of their members have cared to urge them to protest and action against our national sin of oppression, prayer has been made the instrument of opposing such effort. Whenever any member pointed out the slave as "our neighbor" in distress, needing our immediate and active exertions for his help, another member would propose and commence prayer; this, being always in order in such a meeting, of course could not be objected to; and the interposing strategist, carefully ignoring the subject last spoken of, would expatiate at length upon a variety of diverse subjects, and turn the thoughts of his hearers into some new channel.

The policy of this class is, when circumstances do not favor the direct commendation of slavery, to divert the minds of those who would oppose that sin to some other subject. If the subject interposed is good in itself, it is all the more likely to succeed in effecting the desired diversion. Prayer, being a good thing in itself, and everywhere recognized as good, and considered by pious people to be always in season, forms the readiest and most efficient instrument for the purpose in question; and pro-slavery papers of the pious class, such as *The Observer* and *The Journal of Commerce*, are now zealously pulling this string, and sounding the call to prayer, to divert the attention of those who might otherwise hear and heed the call of God's providence to action.

The Observer (4th inst.) tells us that it has received numerous communications, within the last few days, urging the great importance of more fervent prayer in behalf of our suffering country, and, adding its own testimony that "the great duty of the hour is PRAYER," it enjoins—"Let every individual Church have a daily prayer-meeting." Those who remember that, in the last "great revival," the custom of the leaders of prayer-meetings to discourage all allusion to slavery was enforced by printed labels on the walls, NO CONTROVERTED TOPICS, may judge what would be the tendency of such meetings, led by the same people and governed by the same influence, now.

But in this case we are not left to conjecture. A correspondent of *The Observer*, enforcing the editorial admonition, quotes the example of a Church which, observing "a concert of prayer for our country"—"poured out earnest prayer, in such wise as to make the impression, *this is what is to save our nation.*" And he adds his own exhortation, thus:

> "Take with you words, and turn to the Lord; say unto him, Take away all iniquity and receive us graciously. Stay not to settle the question definitively, whether slavery in the South, or wrong and pleasure-seeking in the North, has brought this evil upon us; but leaving the Lord to judge of that, pray and implore him to 'take away *all iniquity*,' that we may be clean in his sight, and that the fearful evils now upon us may be taken away. Raise no debate upon the evil of slavery as compared with other evils, be not too confident of knowing the best method for the extinction of that; but let us agree to take that with all the rest, and lay it upon the altar of God; for he is Judge alone, and 'beside him there is no Savior.' Come one, come all, and let us pray. He will hear and help."

How desperate seems the condition of a nation which follows teachers thus blinded or depraved. Even a heathen, writing long before Christ, could show the absurdity of using prayer as a substitute for the performance of other duty. The waggoner was justly rebuked by Hercules for asking God to do his work for him. The excellent modern parable which we copied two weeks ago from *The Evening Post*, called "The Negro on the Fence," plainly points out the folly and guilt of our national waggoner, who repels, with insult, one who offers help for the extrication of his mired vehicle, and chooses still to stick in the mud rather than accept the negro's aid. But now comes one calling himself a Christian, and the representative of a numerous class who in like manner misuse that venerable name, and proposes, in the name of Christianity, that the waggoner shall still refuse this offered help, and that, instead of using this help, the owners of the waggon shall pray *God* to extricate it!

The more one considers the crisis in which our nation now stands, the more amazement is excited at the folly of a people who consent to be so misguided. The terms which God offers us, the method which natural and revealed religion alike prescribe for our salvation, are plainer and easier than the usual paths of repentance and reformation. The penitent often has to undergo pain, loss and suffering, in the work of turning from sin to righteousness. But in our case, the very act of renouncing vice and turning to virtue is that which will restore our credit in the eyes of men, as well as solve our problem, cure our disease, and vanquish our enemy. Never since the world began did duty and interest meet in more obvious concurrence. For our government not to free the slaves, now, when the old constitutional obstacle is removed by the act of slaveholding rebels, is suicidal folly; on the other hand, to give them immediate and unconditional freedom not only averts a present imminent danger, but opens the way to permanent welfare and constantly increasing prosperity.

The Scriptures teach us that God, though long-suffering and slow to wrath, is still resolute in executing justice and judgment. He has presented to us, successively, different alternatives as the penalty of our neglect of duty. This neglect has made us, for a long course of years, a by-word and a hissing among civilized and Christian nations. In the course of the last fifteen months, it has wrecked our temporal prosperity. It now threatens us with national ruin. The sure remedy yet remains within our reach, but our government refuses to make trial of it, and every day's delay risks a loss of the opportunity altogether. And while our fate hangs thus trembling in the balance, while justice to the slave is obviously the one thing needful to remove at once our sin and our misery, the spiritual advisers of the President beseech him to leave that justice undone, and as the substitute for it, to go to prayer.

When your horses have taken fright, to pray *instead* of using the reins—when your boat drifts towards a lee shore, to pray *instead* of using the sails or the oars—when a vice has brought you to the verge of destruction, to pray *instead* of turning away from that vice, and doing works meet for repentance—when you are overburdened with debts, to pray that they may be paid *instead* of working to pay them—what are these but superstitious folly, misuse at once of the duty of work and the privilege of prayer?

God certainly requires of us obedience, the doing of justice and mercy, quite as much as He requires oral prayer. If prayer is "the soul's sincere desire," he who does active work in the direction of duty may be praying, without words, to much better purpose than his neighbor, who punctually attends the daily prayer-meeting, and asks God to perform his duties for him, except the controverted ones.

In our judgment, God neither desires, nor will accept, prayer instead of work. If faith without works is dead, prayer without works is dead also. He does best whose works and prayers mutually assist each other. But what shall we say of those daily, public demonstrations of sanctimonious pietism, those prayer-meeting performances, the very object of which is to teaze the Almighty to do the things that *we* ought to do? Are they not trees "without fruit, twice dead, plucked up by the roots"? Can they be either pleasing to God or useful to man? Yet vast numbers of our Northern people are at this moment relying on such prayers as these to secure our national salvation; and leaving meantime, wrapped in a napkin, that influence of theirs which, put into vigorous words or deeds, might stimulate the feeble, procrastinating Captain of our ship of State to put his hand on the rudder, and head her towards safety instead of ruin.

GEN. HUNTER'S POLICY ADOPTED BY THE PRESIDENT.

THE following extract from the South Carolina correspondence of the New York *Times* will be read with great satisfaction by the friends of freedom. We have also private information confirming the statement that authority has at last been given by the War Department for the organization and equipment of a large body of negro soldiers in the Department of the South.

> "PORT ROYAL, Thursday, Sept. 4, 1862.
>
> "There is little doubt that the next mail from the North will bring an order from the War Department recalling Major-Gen. Hunter to a field of greater activity. The government had not lent him a hearty support in carrying out his policy of arming the blacks, by whom alone he could make himself useful in this Department to the national cause; and, therefore, more than two months since he applied to be relieved, rather than to sit supinely with folded hands, when his military abilities might be found of service elsewhere. Now, however, I have reason to believe that Gen. Hunter's views upon the question of forming negro regiments have been unreservedly adopted by the President, and the whole question has assumed such a different phase that Gen. Hunter almost regrets that he is to leave the Department. The last mail brought the authorization of the President to enlist five negro regiments, each of a thousand negroes, to be armed and uniformed for the service of the United States, and also authorizes the enrollment of an additional 50,000 to be employed in the Quartermaster's Department, nominally as laborers, but as they are to be organized into companies and uniformed, and a portion of their time to be spent in drilling, it is easy to understand that the possibility of their being used as soldiers is not lost sight of. The exact time of commencing the work of enlisting the colored recruits I am not able to state, but that it will be shortly, to my mind, there is not a shadow of doubt. The only way in which the men can be obtained is by the establishment of posts at various places upon the coast, where the negroes, assured of protection, will flock to us by thousands. Past experience and present information both go to prove this fact. And to establish these posts more men will be required; therefore we may soon expect that the government will be deriving positive advantages from this Department which, heretofore, has been only negatively of service, as the field of experiments and the testing of ideas. Gen. Saxton will go to Washington by the first steamer, for consultation with the President on the subject."

Gen. Hunter arrived at this port on Tuesday. The statements in the papers as to his position and plans are somewhat conflicting, but we have good grounds for believing that he has not been removed from the Department of the South—that he is simply absent on leave, and not unlikely to return ere long with troops enough under his command to strike a telling blow at the heart of the rebellion. We are certain that there is no truth in the story that Gen. Mitchel has been appointed to that Department.

REV. W. H. HOISINGTON.

MANCHESTER, N. H., September 4, 1862.

DEAR FRIEND JOHNSON: I believe you have some acquaintance with Rev. Wm. H. Hoisington, of Ashtahula Co., Ohio. I learn that he is now in the West on a lecturing tour, and to our friends there, through THE STANDARD, I wish to speak a good word in his behalf.

Though blind for many years, he has, by great industry, and the advantage of a naturally strong and clear mind, become one of our soundest and best lecturers on many scientific and moral subjects. His lecture on Ancient Egypt is of great value. I regard it better worth one hundred dollars than many lectures which I have heard, for which that sum was paid.

I hope all our friends in the West will improve the opportunity to secure for themselves and others the advantage of his excellent lectures.

Yours truly, A. T. FOSS.

We know Mr. Hoisington well, and take pleasure in commending him to the kindness and cooperation of the friends of freedom and progress wherever he may go.—*Editor.*

THE LONDON QUARTERLY REVIEW (L. Scott & Co.'s American Edition) for July contains eight articles, viz: Memoirs of Sir Marc Isambard Brunel; Sussex; Lives of the Archbishops of Canterbury; The Volunteers and National Defence; English Poetry from Dryden to Cowper; The International Exhibition; The Hawaiian Islands; The Bicentenary.

PARKER PILLSBURY spent a day in this city last week, on his return from the Ellenville Convention. He appeared to be in good health.

THE COLONIZATION QUESTION.

ROBERT PURVIS TO SENATOR POMEROY.

THE following characteristic letter was published in *The Press* of Philadelphia, on Monday of last week. It did not appear in the whole edition, but, for some cause or other, only in that part of it that goes to Washington or thereabouts. It is just such a production as we should expect, under the circumstances, from its high toned and proud-spirited author.

BYBERRY, Pa., August 28, 1862.

Hon. S. C. POMEROY, *Government Colonization Agent.*

SIR: I have read with deep and painful interest your address to the "Free Colored People of the United States," and, as a "colored" man, beg the privilege of saying a few words in reply.

Forty-five years ago an overture similar to that contained in your address came to the colored people from the city of Washington. That proposed Western Africa as the happy place where they were to be colonized—this proposes Central America. On the receipt of that proposition, a public meeting of the colored people of Philadelphia was called with a view of expressing their opinions of it. It was held in Bethel Church, in the month of January, 1817, and my honored father-in-law, the late James Forten, was its chairman. It adopted a series of resolutions, the first and last of which were as follows:

> Resolved, That as our ancestors (not of choice) were the first successful cultivators of the wilds of America, we, their descendants, feel ourselves entitled to participate in the blessings of her luxuriant soil which their blood and sweat enriched, and that any measure, or system of measures, having a tendency to banish us from her bosom, would not only be cruel, but in direct violation of those principles which have been the boast of this republic.
>
> Resolved, That having the strongest confidence in the justice of God and philanthropy of the free States, we cheerfully submit our destinies to the guidance of Him who suffers not a sparrow to fall without his special providence.

Senator Pomeroy, these were the sentiments of the colored people of Philadelphia, and of the whole land, in 1817; they have been their sentiments ever since, and they will be found to be their sentiments now. Exceptions there may have been, and may be again. I speak of the whole, not of a fraction.

Sir, for more than twenty years the question of colonization agitated and divided this country. The colored people stamped it with the seal of their reprobation; the whites acquiesced in the justice of their decision, and the vexed and vexing question was put to rest. Now it is revived. The apple of discord is again thrown into the community, and as though you had not already enough to divide and distract you, a new scheme is hit upon and deliberately sent upon its errand of mischief.

There are some aspects of this project which surely its advocates cannot have duly considered. You purpose to exile hundreds of thousands of your laborers. The wealth of a country consists mainly in its labor. With what law of economy, political or social, can you reconcile this project to banish from your shores the men that plough your fields, drive your teams, and help build your houses? Already the farmers around me begin to feel the pinching want of labor; how will it be after this enormous draft? I confess the project seems to me one of insanity. What will foreign nations, on whose good or ill will so much is supposed now to depend, think of this project? These nations have none of this vulgar prejudice against complexion. What, then, will they think of the wisdom of a people who, to gratify a low-born prejudice, deliberately plan to drive out hundreds of thousands of the most peaceable, industrious, and competent laborers? Mr. Roebuck said in a late speech, at Sheffield—as an argument for intervention—"that the feeling against the black was stronger at the North than in the South." Mr. Roebuck can now repeat that assertion, and point to this governmental project in corroboration of its truth. A "Slaveholders' Convention" was held a few years since in Maryland to consider whether it would not be best either to reënslave the free blacks of that State or banish them from its borders. The question was discussed, and a committee, the chairman of which was United States Senator Pearce, was appointed to report upon it. That committee reported "that to enslave men now free would be inhuman, and to banish them from the State would be to inflict a deadly blow upon the material interests of the Commonwealth; that their labor was indispensable to the welfare of the State." Sir, your government proposes to do that which the Slaveholders' Convention of Maryland, with all their hate of the free blacks, declared to be inconsistent with the public interest.

But it is said this is a question of prejudice, of national antipathy, and not to be reasoned about. The President has said, "whether it is right or wrong I need not now discuss."

Great God! Is justice nothing? Is honor nothing? Is even pecuniary interest to be sacrificed to this insane and vulgar hate? But it is said this is the "white man's country." Not so, sir. This is the red man's country, by natural right, and the black man's, by virtue of his sufferings and toil. Your fathers by violence drove the red man out, and forced the black man in. The children of the black man have enriched the soil by their tears, and sweat, and blood. Sir, we were born here, and here we choose to remain. For twenty years we were goaded and harrassed by systematic efforts to make us colonize. We were coaxed and mobbed, and mobbed and coaxed, but we refused to budge. We planted ourselves upon our inalienable rights, and were proof against all the efforts that were made to expatriate us. For the last fifteen years we have enjoyed comparative quiet. Now again the malign project is broached, and again as before, in the name of humanity are we invited to leave!

In God's name, what good do you expect to accomplish by such a course? If you will not let our brethren in bonds go free—if you will not let us, as did our fathers share in the privileges of the government—if you will not let us even help fight the battles of the country—in Heaven's name, at least, *let us alone.* Is that too great a boon to ask of your magnanimity?

Sir, I have spoken with freedom, but not, I trust, with disrespect. If I have expressed myself with warmth, put yourself in my place and ask if you would not do the same. Sir, my revered father, William Purvis, of Charleston, S. C., was a loyal citizen of this country and a true patriot. He died leaving an escutcheon without a stain. My father-in-law, James Forten, served this country in the Revolution of 1776, and suffered as a captive of war on board the British prison ship Old Jersey. He, too, died without a blot on his memory. I, myself, have paid the taxes and borne the burden of the government without being allowed a share in its privileges. Of this I don't now complain. In bitterness of spirit, but with unwavering loyalty, I have been true to the country which has never ceased to injure me. I have hoped and labored for better things. I still hope and labor for better things, and don't complain. *But let me alone.* I elect to stay on the soil on which I was born, and on the plot of ground which I have fairly bought and honestly paid for. Don't advise me to leave, and don't add insult to injury by telling me it's for my own good; of that I am to be the judge. It is in vain you talk to me about the "two races," and their "mutual antagonism." In the matter of rights there is but one race, and that is the *human* race. "God has made of one blood all nations to dwell on all the face of the earth." And it is not true that there is a mutual antagonism between the white and colored people of this community. You may antagonize us, but we do not antagonize you. You may hate us, but we do not hate you. It may argue a want of spirit to cling to those who seek to banish us, but such is nevertheless the fact.

Sir, this is our country as much as it is yours, *and we will not leave it.* Your ships may be at the door, but we choose to remain. A few may go, as a few went to Hayti and a few to Liberia, but the colored people as a mass will not leave the land of their birth. Of course, I can only speak by authority for myself, but I know the people with whom I am indentified, and I feel confident that I only express their sentiment as a body when I say that your project of colonizing them in Central America or anywhere else, with or without their consent, will never succeed. They will migrate as do other people, when left to themselves, and when the motive is sufficient; but they will neither be "compelled to volunteer" nor *constrained* to go of their "own accord."

Your obedient servant,

ROBERT PURVIS.

MRS. CHILD'S LETTER, on the first page, sets the question of Amalgamation in the proper light.

AN OLD MAN'S LETTER TO THE PRESIDENT.

WARREN, [illegible], August [illegible], 1862.

To ABRAHAM LINCOLN, *President of the United States.*

DEAR SIR: I am seventy years old, and have [illegible] sons in your army, and the fifth is subject to draft. I take the liberty to present a few facts for your consideration. I do it because I believe the nation is in the greatest peril. The great question is, How can we put down this great rebellion? I answer, The natural way—remove the cause, by proclaiming universal emancipation, as a military necessity, and by protecting all the slaves as fast as they come within our lines, using them in any way you best can, to labor or to fight. This you might have done, and perhaps it is still not too late. Or, if you thought Universal Emancipation too bold a measure, the least your friends could have expected of you was, that you would please them by making the war as much anti-slavery as you could constitutionally, and not grieve your numerous anti-slavery friends, and please your few pro-slavery enemies, the Border Slave State men, by making the war as pro-slavery as you could. Which have you done? In your great speech in Cooper Institute, New-York city, you maintained truly that the issue was between slavery and anti-slavery. The nation had been under the rule of the Slave Power for thirty-three years. The friends of liberty proposed to change it to moderate anti-slavery. They were successful, and you became their anti-slavery President.

Another reason why I have been very anxious during the war that it should be an anti-slavery war, and not a pro-slavery one, is, that as a nation we might give evidence to God and the nations that are watching us with great solicitude that this dreadful curse we have endured has brought us to sincere repentance for the great sin of slavery; for, doubtless, a nation that has sinned can no more gain God's favor without repentance than an individual can.

I will now review some of your most prominent acts in this war:

1. Several of your Generals proposed to use the army to put down slave insurrections, without rebuke from you. This displeased your anti-slavery friends, and pleased your pro-slavery enemies. I call them your pro-slavery enemies because they did what they could to prevent your election, and have, in and out of Congress, opposed every anti-slavery measure proposed.

2 Several of your Generals returned fugitive slaves to their masters without rebuke, until Congress by law forbade it. Oh! how that practice grieved your numerous anti-slavery friends, and delighted your pro-slavery enemies!

3. Gen. Butler's letters to Secretary Cameron pleased your friends and displeased your enemies. This was after the rebels attempted to poison Butler's men.

4. The Secretary's answer to Butler was good, as far as it went, but it did not answer the great question of the war, to wit—Are the slaves that flee to our lines for protection bond or free? Oh, Mr. President, if you had at that time only answered that question in favor of liberty, there is no telling how much good it would have done, and how much evil it would have prevented; but you refused to do it, which grieved your friends and pleased your enemies.

5. Fremont's proclamation of freedom. Perhaps, Mr. President, you are not fully aware what enthusiasm that created among all the friends of liberty during the eleven days it stood unmodified, and how it discouraged our enemies. But when your rebuke was read, it seemed like a funeral among your friends; but your Border Slave State enemies, how elated they were!

6. Gen. Halleck's Order No. 3 greatly displeased your numerous anti-slavery friends, and as greatly pleased your pro-slavery enemies. I will remind you what Senator Sumner truly said of that order. He said, "It was unconstitutional, absurd, deficient in common sense, an outrage on common humanity, and unworthy of a soldier." Such an order would exclude all the valuable information received from fugitives, etc. Have you ever given Gen. Halleck a word of rebuke? I have never heard of any. But you have exalted him to the highest military office known in this nation.

7. Secretary Cameron's Report, as it was spread all over the country before it was mutilated by the President's own hand, greatly encouraged the friends of freedom. It indicated progress in the right direction. But it disturbed the friends of slavery. When the second edition came with the anti-slavery part struck out, it gave a shock of disappointment to your friends hard to endure, and as much pleased your pro-slavery enemies. Mr. Lincoln, that was an unfortunate thing for you and for our country. Did Gen. McClellan threaten to resign? I verily believe that it would have been a most happy thing for our country if he had resigned.

8. Gen. Hunter's Proclamation, in force ten days, greatly encouraged the friends of liberty all over the world, but it very much disturbed the friends of slavery everywhere. It was just the thing we wanted you to do in all the slave States. But you annulled it which again discouraged your friends and encouraged your enemies.

Now, I am not unmindful of the numerous anti-slavery measures Congress has passed and you have sanctioned, and I feel thankful to you and it for them all, and more thankful to God that he has brought them about in His kind providence. The last crowning act that they did would have done an immense amount of good if it had been carried out to the full extent of its provisions. The law provided for the President's using rebel property and slaves in all our army and navy. But in your orders, dear sir, you have confined them to nine slave States, leaving out six. The law freed all the slaves and their families that came to our lines and assisted us in this terrible struggle for the right. In your orders and proclamation, you have given no word of freedom or encouragement to the poor slave to leave his rebel master, and, at the risk of his life, come over to our help. In your partiality in favor of slavery and against liberty, you have greatly disappointed and mortified your friends and encouraged your enemies. Ever since you commenced raising an army, you have had more men and money than you asked for. The people have poured out their blood and treasure like water to save their country, and yet, after sixteen months, you have hardly begun to put down the rebellion. Why? I am bold to say, Because you have refused to do the very thing necessary; that is, to encourage the four million of loyal men, women and children to quit helping the rebels as slaves, and come over and help us as freemen. And I would ask you, dear sir, what right you have to compel your fellow-citizens, by draft, to leave their families and business, and serve in your army as substitutes for the numerous colored men in the free States, whose offered services you have refused? I know you have the power, but power don't always give right.

And now, to close, will you blame me for reminding you of these plain facts as I honestly view them. Will you blame me for being very solicitous that you should yield to the entreaties of your numerous anti-slavery friends, and put down the rebellion by sweeping every vestige of that terrible scourge of the world, slavery, from our land while you have the power. For power to do good always brings obligation to do it. If you will do this, all the friends of liberty in our own land not only, but throughout the world, will rise up and call you blessed.

Your friend,

SILAS PEPOON, SR.

MOTTO FOR THE HOUR.—In this hour of darkness and discouragement, when the nation stands on the edge of a precipice, blind to its danger, how cheering are these words of JOHN BROWN, written in his Virginia prison Nov. 9, 1859:

"I CANNOT REMEMBER A NIGHT SO DARK AS TO HINDER OR PREVENT THE COMING DAY: NOR A STORM SO FURIOUS AND DREADFUL AS TO PREVENT THE RETURN OF WARM SUNSHINE AND CLOUDLESS SKY."

"THE COMMONWEALTH" is a new weekly journal just started in Boston, by James M. Stone. It is a large and handsomely printed sheet, and when we say that Moncure D. Conway is to write its editorials and guide its policy, our readers will require no further evidence that it will be among the living journals of the day, an organ of freedom in the best sense of the word. Terms, $2 in advance. Address James M. Stone, 22 Bromfield st., Boston.

THE CHRISTIAN EXAMINER for September contains eight articles, with the following titles: Saint Anselm; Romance Biographies; Three Ancient Systems of Intuitive Morals; Shakspeare and Friendship; New Readings of the Psalms; Our War Policy, and how it deals with Slavery; Irving's Life and Letters; Review of Current Literature. Boston: Walker Wise & Co.

THE PRESIDENT'S LETTER.

To the Editor of The National Anti-Slavery Standard.

I HAVE just risen from the perusal of the President's letter to Horace Greeley, and find my woman's blood coursing through my veins at a rate that makes me almost desire, as good Joe Gargery has it, to take a "rampage." What means our father Abraham? Have justice and mercy departed from our Cabinet councils, and left the government of a great people subject to the chances of an hour? When I was a little girl and went to school in the woods, I used sometimes to have discussions with my playmates on matters of to us grave importance; when there was no other way of settling the controversy, whether I should go down the lane to Susie's house, or Susie should go up the lane to my house, we sat a stick up at the corner, and made our decision according to the way it pointed when it fell. Our President seems to think the subject now before the mind of the nation of about as much importance. Could I, like Mrs. L. M. Child, venture to speak to so august a personage as the Chief Magistrate of the United States of America, I should, I am afraid, want to shout in his ears: "Set up *your* stick, Mr. President, and in the name of all that is good and merciful, let us know what to depend on!"

And may I not speak? Has not President Lincoln called my sons to the battle-field, to stand guard over (I would like to tell what if I could, guess it's rebel property)—and may not a mother ask, how long he is going to keep them thus standing in trenches, digging ditches and laying corduroy bridges through Southern swamps on half rations, while he waits to see what will "turn up"—whether it shall be to knock the chains from four million slaves, and thus set free nineteen million of should-be free hands which are now compelled, under his vacillating policy, to hold the other end of the chain? Is this a time for such vacillation, when the whole heart of the truly loyal people of the North is being wrung with the agony of fear and suspense, when almost every household is filled with mourning for some loved one, sacrificed to this Moloch of slavery, the President seeming to think it of no manner of importance? True, "he would have all men everywhere free." We should thank him for that. But then he would "save the Union the shortest way under the Constitution," no matter whether it is in accordance with justice or otherwise. Now, the preamble of the Constitution requires that all things contained therein shall be construed in favor of liberty, and now is a good time to take the short cut, and so construe it as to "secure the blessings of liberty" to all the South and all the South's *posterity*, and thereby promote the general welfare and ensure public tranquillity, and make a beginning of an end to this inhuman war.

But how can I dare to jest? Oh! if the President of these United States could hear, as I hear, the sorrowing wail of the mothers of this land over his strange, boyish words, could see the tears of anguish which course down pale cheeks, not for the loved and lost whose bones fill shallow graves, or for those still at the post of danger far away, or for those whose last farewell is even now echoing through the old homestead, or for the few that the terrific draft may soon fall on the last stay of the home, but because they are giving up their fathers, husbands, sons and brothers to the sacrifice, with the conviction deepening upon their minds that it is only to set the rebel and the traitor still higher, and more firmly upon his pinnacle of privilege, in outraging God and man by holding property in man.

Oh! how his words mock our hope! Do they, as some of our journals assert, speak hopefully for emancipation? Well be it for those who can so see it! It may help to keep alive the fast dying spark of enthusiasm in the hearts of our weary, waiting nation. But many will never cease to feel that the great Commander-in-Chief of a mighty nation, who can so coolly consign their hopes to chance, even in a newspaper letter, has cruelly insulted and wronged them.

The cry of the people to day is, "Give us a policy." If it is the determination of the government to establish a Union, leaving the cause of the rebellion untouched, let us know it, that we may possess our souls in patience and prepare for an eternal conflict with that hideous monster slavery, whose very name is war—war to the hilt—with Freedom and Right.

FRANCES D. GAGE.

CONVENTION AT ELLENVILLE.

GHENT, N. Y., September 7, 1862.

To the Editor of The National Anti-Slavery Standard.

IT was my privilege to attend the Anti-Slavery Convention held in Ellenville, Ulster Co., N. Y., commencing Thursday evening, Aug. 28. The meetings were glorious, full of earnest feeling, just criticism, wise counsel and solemn warning. Of the occasion it is not too much to say, that we had only to regret that there were not present President, generals, soldiers, and all the people of our nation, to listen to the calm statement of our country's past and present condition, and to hear, as from the voice of God, the sure pathway out of this wilderness of war to the fertile fields of peace. The speakers present were Parker Pillsbury, Susan B. Anthony and Aaron M. Powell. They regarded the war as the natural outgrowth of the system of slavery, the just retribution for the many years of complicity in its wrongs. All spoke clearly and most impressively of the duty of the President to proclaim emancipation, in order that we may atone in a measure for the guilt of the past, and that we may destroy the seed of war, and thus secure a lasting peace.

Of the conduct of the war, Mr Pillsbury said: "History furnishes no parallel to the money and men-offerings of the country, but there is a lack of spiritual wealth. The South is less in material resources, but her hope is in the strength of her spirit. The battle-cry of the South is 'Slavery,' and until the battle-cry of the North is 'Freedom,' our warfare is but a sacrifice to the Southern god. We fight, not against Jeff. Davis, but against the great Jehovah. Now that his hand is stretched forth in justice, our work is to undo what we have done in sin." He spoke eloquently of the inflexible laws that govern the material world, and said: "We should remember that when we ascend into the realm of conscience, God is still the same, and the laws that govern the spiritual world are as much more potent as they are more important." His words of criticism were accompanied by suggestions of the way to be faithfully pursued, and his earnest thought bore the impress of the close companionship of the great Teacher. No one could doubt that he is one of "the world's teachers, who has first been God's learner."

The following resolutions were presented by Mr. Pillsbury, but they were not acted upon:

1. Resolved, That the one object of the Abolitionists of this country for the past thirty years has been to achieve, if possible, *by moral and peaceful* agitation, the entire overthrow of chattel slavery.

2. Resolved, That the American Anti-Slavery Society, and its auxiliary and kindred associations, believing the Constitution and the Union to be an arrangement between the North and the South, whereby slavery is secured and perpetuated, adopted many years ago the motto, "No Union with slaveholders"; and since that time they have labored earnestly, by all moral and peaceful agencies (*and none other*), to so change and improve the public sentiment on the sin and guilt of slavery as to achieve its entire abolition; or, an amicable separation from the slave States, and the formation of a Free Northern Republic, whose soil should be unpolluted and uncursed by tread or presence of slaveholders, and unstained by blood of slaves.

3. Resolved, That the duty of immediate emancipation has always been demanded by every principle of humanity and justice, irrespective of all constitutional compromises or guaranties to the contrary; but now when, by the laws of war, slavery may be constitutionally overthrown, and by the law of necessity *must be*, or the nation must perish, the guilt, and *the folly too*, of the government in still protecting and preserving it, seems without a parallel in the darkest periods of the past.

4. Resolved, That as Abolitionists, true to our high trust, we must continue to demand the abolition of slavery, as well in war as in peace, and to warn the government, and all concerned in committing or continuing this great sin and crime, of the danger of so doing, and solemnly to protest against the wasteful sacrifice of wealth and life to "restore the Union as it was, or the Constitution as it is," since, being based on injustice and oppression, they should never have existed, and, while God lives and reigns, can never be firmly and permanently established.

The seeker after beautiful scenery alone would be richly repaid by a visit to Ellenville. The village is at the foot of the Shawangunk range, and abounds in loveliest pictures of near and distant mountains and waterfalls,

> "Making the dusk and silence of the wood
> Glad with the laughter of the chasing floods."

Ellenville was lovely as we first saw it in the morning light: henceforth it will be glorified by the memory that there w[illegible] saw the work of God's power and love, but also heard his absolute truth from the lips of the faithful.

ELIZABETH M. POWELL.

FROM AN UNSPOKEN SPEECH.

SITTING in my room, my eyes fell upon a chart that hung upon the wall, in each corner of which was a portrait of, I suppose, a representative man. In a foreign land these would have portrayed the King, the Minister of State, and the Military Power.

Reflecting on the events of this country during the last eighteen months, while viewing their faces, and asking what part have these men taken in the great struggle that was yet going on, I considered that all these representative men were failures.

There is Gen. Scott. His early and his middle life were glorious. He made for himself a name and a fame worthy to be placed high on heroic rolls. He, too late, was called to lead armies, or to direct them, against a rebellion. He was too old; and, like an over-indulgent father, he patted the unruly ones upon the back, and fain would coax, when he should have commanded. Better if he had died ten years ago. He has failed. His great age has saved to him respect, as he is sinking to his last resting-place, and his soul is passing on to render up the final account of his early and his late stewardship. For the present crisis he was a failure!

There is Abraham Lincoln, raised by a generous and free people to a throne greater than was the Cæsars'—appointed to guard a nation's rights planted by God; placed on a pinnacle, which he could have made the most glorious point of any in the world, whereon the age now and all ages to come would have gazed with admiration, as he realized the great work that devolved upon him, and as he went out with the determined purpose to do that work, commanding the respect and admiration of the truly great and good everywhere. Alas! by his intense desire to save a parchment Constitution, he forgot that there was behind and far above that Constitution, however great it might be, a country to be saved, greater than all else, without which a Constitution is but waste paper. Fearing one State, Kentucky, more than aught beside, he has been a failure. The "Golden Hour" struck for him, but he heard it not. He looked not on the dial-face. The hand passed on. Will he ever see it more?

There is William H. Seward, a man of great ability, whom the country has delighted to honor, and to look up to for wisdom and for counsel when great emergencies came to trouble it in its deliberations—a man who has heretofore educated a nation to freedom, as he stood nearly alone in the Senate Chamber, and sent out burning words of eloquent truth to waken the people to a truer idea of the right, and of God's justice and man's sinfulness. False now to all his former teachings—false to all his previous elevated thoughts—tampering with sin and wrapped up in cold unconcern unbecoming a statesman—like Nero of old, trifling when his country is being destroyed, he has been a failure. The history of the future will leave a blot upon his name, which not all his ardent youthful heroism, nor all his coming penitence, shall be able to remove. He listened not as the "Golden Hour" struck; he heeded not its passing away!

There is George B. McClellan, raised up to a position that gratified his vain aspirings; unfitted to the duties to be performed; flattered, worshipped, idolized and spoiled by too much adulation—of course he was a failure. There was no "Golden Hour" for his ears—no dial-face for him to see. Volcanic fires never belch forth from mole-hills.

Between these four portraits, which came out from *The Sun* office, is mapped a vast domain, the work of Almighty God; placed to be the garden-spot of earth, and destined to be so yet, even though the present race upon it shall be found unworthy to occupy it; a spot where, under the benign influence of a Christian rule, men should live as brothers. It has every advantage of soil and climate, of splendor of hill and vale, of material wealth, wrapped up within it, and in its earliest history much of moral grandeur. It is a spot large enough for hundreds of millions of intelligent people to dwell upon, and the Creator was calling upon his poor children all the world over to come here and find a home; but it has been, it is now, cursed with the deadliest sin, which has been for years eating up its richness, and deforming it, till at last the lovers of sin, no longer able to hug the infamy they had brought on, have risen to destroy the land. And no one of power has spoken yet the word that shall stay them in their mad career. Gen. Scott was too old. He could not articulate the words, "Freedom to all." Abraham Lincoln dared not speak them, for Kentucky was not willing that he should. And William H. Seward would not, for he had sunk down to a "status" so grovelling that he had no power to rise. And George B. McClellan never knew the words "human freedom." He could never see the diamond in the charcoal—therefore he could not say them. The Southern Bloodhound had pursued these four representative men; he had bitten them, and all of them had the lockjaw; so their mouths were closed. The clock struck! But the true peoples who would enrich and occupy this garden-spot have risen up to slay that bloodhound; and if President and Cabinet and General will not kill him, they will do it. There shall be no more dough-faces or lockjaw. They are on his track now, and will secure the prey!

The great car of emancipation is started on its way. God is the conductor of it, and John Brown is fireman. It moves on with lightning speed. Clear the track! It stops not now at Harper's Ferry, but bounds on o'er hill and valley, crosses rivers and rises over mountains. It rushes on with its loud whistle. Clear the way! It is filled with myriads, singing as they go:

> "Were bound for the land of Freedom—
> If you get there before I do," etc.

Clear the way! on, and ever on, no more to stop till its work is accomplished, until it crushes all false institutions. Men! listen to its coming. Hear its whistle. Secure inside seats, and be present at the great jubilee. There will be Washington and Hamilton, William Jay and Jefferson and Patrick Henry and the Adamses and millions of others; and there will be the stalwart form of Andrew Jackson, spreading his arms, and crying aloud, "Now the Union is preserved." There will be Garrison and Phillips and Sumner, aye, and Parson Brownlow. There will be ten thousand, thousand lovely women, angels from earth and heaven, who have labored to lift up Christian brothers to a high hope and a sure salvation! Breckinridge will not be there; nor will John Bell, nor George Lunt, nor Erastus Brooks, nor any of their kith or kind, for there will be a "nigger on the fence" to face them.

Will the four representative men on the chart be there? Surely not, unless they quickly move. Gen. Scott is too old and gouty, he could not bear the journey. Lincoln and Seward will stop half way, to see if they have a constitutional ticket. And McClellan will switch off at the Chickahominy swamp.

But the Great Arbiter of all events will preside there, and will designate one to save this fair heritage, so that our children and their children shall rise up ages after this to bless the Lord and praise his holy name; while the sacrifices that have been made for a year shall ascend on high as a purification of the land.

W.

STRANGE OMISSION.—We have received a letter enclosing Four Dollars, in which the writer asks us to send him for examination the anti-slavery tracts advertised in THE STANDARD of July 19, and inquires if we will send our paper for $1.50 to a club of six persons. He does not tell us how to appropriate the money he sends, and his letter neither gives us the name of the writer or of the place where he lives. The postmark, moreover, is utterly illegible, and we are thus left without any clue to the writer. He is probably a subscriber to THE STANDARD, and the money enclosed is probably intended to pay his subscription for two years. We publish this notice, hoping that it may meet his eye and lead to a disclosure of his name and place of residence.

GILES B. STEBBINS is speaking on THE WAR in the western part of this State. On Sunday, Aug. 24, he addressed a large audience in Hemlock Hall, near North Collins, Erie Co.; and on Sunday, Aug. [illegible], spoke to a large gathering in Farmersville, Cattaraugus Co. He will speak again at the place last named on Sunday, the 21st inst. To-morrow (Sunday) he will speak at Lockport.

THE QUESTION OF THE HOUR FOR FREE LABORING MEN. Shall we fight to have all loyal laborers free, or be ourselves the slaves of traitors?

Our Washington Correspondence.

WASHINGTON, Sept. 8, 1862.

WELL, we are put back again for one year. Two gentlemen met Mr. Lincoln one day last week at the War Department. The President made some remark showing that he felt very deeply the recent reverses of the national cause. One of the gentlemen said, "We are knocked into the middle of next week," using a slang phrase, expressive of a general smash up. The other gentleman quickly replied, "No, no; it looks a good deal more to me as if we were knocked into the middle of last year!" He was right. We are put back one year. Possibly more. It is by no means certain that the rebels will not succeed in raising a revolution in Maryland. They may invade the State of Pennsylvania. And it is also possible that they may capture Washington. We may as well look our situation full in the face. The year's fighting ends nearly where it began. We are no nearer putting down the rebellion than we were a year ago—*apparently*. There has been had fighting on our side since last April, whether from deficient generalship, or lack of pluck in the men, I cannot undertake to decide. There seems to be *something* the matter *somewhere*.

It is perhaps no time just now to find fault. There is but one thing before the country and the government, and that is to retrieve past mistakes. The responsibility resting on the shoulders of the President is overwhelming. It is almost too great for one man to bear. He should at any rate be a very strong man to bear such heavy burdens. We can but hope that he will do right.

There is one act of the President's which will be very severely criticised by many persons—the appointment of Gen. McClellan to the command of all the troops gathered here for the defense of the Capital. And yet upon examining all the facts of the case—or such facts as one can glean by careful observation and inquiry—I am convinced that Mr. Lincoln did the very best thing he could do. Admit that the necessity was a melancholy one, nevertheless it *was* a most imperative necessity. I state God's truth when I say, that ninety thousand of our best troops were almost in a mutinous condition last week Saturday and Sunday, because Gen. McClellan was *not* their commander. The old army clamored for McClellan. They *would* have him for their General. The military situation was most critical. The veterans of the army demanded McClellan for their chief. They hated McDowell, had no confidence in Pope, and what was the President to do? Under the circumstances he saved the army, temporarily at least, by giving to it its old leader. At first I felt like tens of thousands of other men, *indignant*. But facts come pouring in in reference to the condition of the army, its wants, desires and dissatisfied condition. I am now convinced that having left McClellan unrebuked for past shortcomings (if they were shortcomings), having left his reputation untouched in the eyes of the nation, the President had but one course to pursue, which was to give the old army into McClellan's hands. And now, for one, I trust that the army of the Potomac and enough new troops to make up a total of 250,000 will be put into Gen. McClellan's hands with the job of taking Richmond. Let Banks, Burnside and Sigel, whose troops are not so attached to McClellan, have another 250,000, old and new troops, and let them work elsewhere, or in conjunction with McClellan, not under him. Give to these men *troops*, but demand that they shall, at the expiration of a certain period, put down the rebellion. This makes 500,000, troops for the great contest in Virginia. Let the South-west have another 500,000, with which to clean out treason from the South-western rebel States. The trial must end by the first day of next May. We must have an end of the war by that time, and the million of men already in the field, or called for, must do the work. Mr. Chase will tell any one, I presume, who is in his confidence, that at the present cost of conducting the war we *must* end it soon or break down into irredeemable bankruptcy. Every consideration impels the government to end the war *soon*. Anti slavery men have done their duty. They have beseeched Mr. Lincoln to strike at the cause of the war—slavery—they have demanded vigor in *that* direction, and now they can do no more. Mr. Lincoln is Commander-in-Chief of the national forces, and he will do as he pleases, *can* do precisely as he wishes, and we can do no more than *urge* him to take the right course. Whatever he does, must be done now, to do any good. Whatever he does, loyal men must stand by the government, not in defending its wrong acts, but in standing for the government and nation. Give the President the army of one million he has asked for, and let the present overwhelming danger pass away, and we shall perhaps see him adopt a better policy on the slavery question.

It is unsafe for one to write of the condition of military affairs, they change so rapidly. We are in some commotion, however, over the movements of the rebels. Do they mean to attack Baltimore, cross over into Pennsylvania, or attack Washington? Can our Generals bag the fellows if they get across this side some fifteen or twenty thousand strong? Are we smart enough for a nice bit of strategy? As for taking Washington, by a direct attack, it is almost impossible—entirely so if our troops will fight well. But Washington may be outflanked in such a manner that its evacuation would be rendered necessary. The Baltimore *American* disposes of the probability of an attack upon Baltimore by presenting to some of its secession readers the results of such a direct attack. It says:

"But suppose the advancing legion of rebeldom to have finally reached the borders of the city, and 'Gen. Trimble' or ex-Gov. Lowe to be sent in with a flag of truce demanding an unconditional surrender of Baltimore. Of course, to reach this advanced position in his progress all the legions arrayed to stay his advance would have been driven before them into the city. It might also be supposed that, in addition to the forts that now surround us, the government would in the meantime have been busy in erecting other works, and that bristling cannon would command every approach. The demand for a surrender having been refused, the 'deliverers' would prepare to storm and carry the city by force of arms. Solid shot, shell and cannister would soon be flying over our domiciles and store-houses, and some of them would probably be struck and others fired by incendiary shells. Even some of our tall buildings might be shattered, and a shell burst in the midst of the families of some of those who desire to be 'delivered.'

"We will presume that the siege shall last two or three days, or perhaps as many weeks, and that it should become apparent to the Federal forces that the enemy was gaining upon them, and that they would ultimately succeed in driving them from the city. If there should be a General in command who understood his duty in such an emergency, he would order the destruction of every foundery, machine-shop and work-shop—he would fire all the government stores, and destroy the railroad depots and remove the cars and locomotives—in short, he would take care to leave nothing to fall into the hands of the enemy, in the way of food, clothing, munitions of war, public or private, that fire could consume. In destroying these articles it would be more than probable that extensive conflagrations would be in progress in various parts of the city, and that some of our citizens who desire a rebel invasion might also suffer slightly.

"But this is not all. If our readers will turn to the history of wars in other countries, and read the accounts of the sacking of cities by retreating armies, and presume that the Federal force thus compelled to evacuate would not be less than one or two hundred thousand men, a little stretch of imagination will enable them to realize the picture. The bank funds would be removed, stores sacked, private residences invaded, and all the terrors of desolating war enacted in our midst, whilst the flames might be spreading from the burning storehouses in every direction."

Do not the rebels know this as well as anybody *this* side the Potomac? Of course they do, and of course they will not procure the destruction of that city. But Washington they *would* like to destroy without doubt—they would like to see it laid waste, and would not care particularly which side accomplished the work of destruction.

The free States just now seem to be in danger of a visit from Jackson. He is already near the Pennsylvania line. What he means and what point he will first strike at no one while I write this seems to understand. By another week we shall all of us know.

AVON.

MR. GARRISON'S ORATION, lately delivered at Williams College, and which we have placed on the fourth page, will command, as it certainly deserves, the careful attention of our readers. Those who would see what is the "head and front" of the "Fanaticism" and "Infidelity" of the Abolitionists, and learn the Cause and the Cure of the rebellion, have only to read this able and lucid address by the leader of the modern Anti-Slavery Movement.

OBITUARY.

DIED, at Cornwall, Orange Co., on Tuesday, Sept. 9th, very suddenly, THOMAS WALLACE, formerly of this city, aged 63. He was a true-hearted Abolitionist, faithful to the cause at all times, and contributing liberally of his substance for its advancement. He was for many years, to the day of his death, a subscriber to THE STANDARD, and a contributor to the treasury of the American Anti-Slavery Society. We are sad when we think that we shall not look again into his sunny face, nor listen to his silvery voice. He was known and loved by a large circle of friends in this city, who will sincerely mourn his sudden departure, and feel the deepest sympathy for his afflicted wife.

Chronicles of the War.

The Rebel Army in Maryland.

THE rebels stand no longer on the defensive, but have boldly advanced into Maryland in large force, whence they menace Southern Pennsylvania, Baltimore and Washington. The accounts of their movements are inextricably confused. *The Tribune* of Tuesday sums up the rumors thus:

"We find the most important statements to be that a paroled prisoner who reached Washington yesterday, reports that about 150,000 rebels had gone into Maryland recently, the most of them having gone beyond the Monocacy. This prisoner passed through the lines, and counted twenty-seven batteries. There were reports yesterday in Washington of a skirmish near Poolesville, Md. Some of the more timid of the inhabitants of Washington are moving off to the North. The Governor of Maryland has issued a proclamation, calling upon the people of that State to arm for defence. On Friday afternoon the rebel pickets extended out as far as Newmarket, 8 miles south-east of Frederick. The Union pickets were withdrawn 16 miles from the same place. The rebels had got possession of only two or three cars at Frederick, some of which were loaded with old pontoon bridges. Our special dispatch says that nothing can be depended upon among the countless rumors as to the position and intention of the rebel army. One story is that some of their men are at Gettysburg, in Pennsylvania, but the statement is not confirmed. A deserter from Leesburg says that the divisions of Hill, Huger and Longstreet have crossed the Potomac, Jackson leading the advance. He estimates that 50,000 are over the river, and that the whole army numbers 100,000. Small bodies of rebel cavalry are hovering about our front toward Centreville, picking up unwary stragglers. Pennsylvania is of course greatly stirred up. It was thought yesterday at Harrisburg that the rebels would attempt to break up the Northern Central Railroad. Arms were being distributed in the border Counties, and Gen. Andrew Porter had arrived at Harrisburg to forward measures of defence. We have a brief dispatch stating that there was a smart skirmish on Sunday afternoon with rebel cavalry near Martinsburg, in which the rebels were driven back toward Winchester with a loss of forty killed and taken. Maj-Gen. McClellan left Washington on Sunday to look after the invaders. Gen. Banks is in command at Washington during his absence."

From the same paper of Wednesday's date we copy as follows:

"Persons from Rockville, Md., to Washington say that the rebels in great force have occupied the western bank of Seneca Creek, from its mouth at the Potomac, 22 miles above Washington, to the public stage road at Middlebrook Mills—a line of some 10 miles. Middlebrook is eight miles west of Rockville, on the turnpike between Georgetown and Frederick, and about 28 miles from Washington. On Monday afternoon, two companies of the 3d Indiana cavalry, under command of Maj. Chapman, went to Poolesville, Md., which they found in possession of a rebel cavalry regiment, who had planted on a hill to the right of the town one field-piece, which was opened on our men as they approached. The command did not stop, but charged through the town, the enemy who were there skedaddling, and forming a line of battle near their gun. In a few moments, reënforcements came up, consisting of two pieces of artillery and several companies of the 8th Illinois cavalry, and our guns, after a few shots, succeeded in silencing the enemy's piece, when another charge was made by Maj. Chapman's command, and the rebels broke and ran, leaving seven dead on the field. Our loss is one man killed and eight wounded. Stories vary greatly at Washington as to the number of the rebel troops; the figures are all along from the traditional "40,000" to five times that number. A dispatch from Chambersburg, Pa., says that on Monday the rebels were at Hagerstown in considerable force, and advancing. All the rolling stock of the railroads has been removed from Hagerstown, and the telegraph office there evacuated.

"From one of the correspondents at the front we learn that the rebels crossed the Potomac at Monocacy on Thursday last, the passage being disputed by a part of three companies of the 1st Massachusetts Cavalry. The estimate of the rebel force varies in the army and at Washington anywhere from 15,000 to 150,000, one theory being that they have all crossed into Maryland; another, that that advance is only a feint to cover an attack upon Washington. The probability seems to be that they are in considerable force at Frederick, but whether with the intention of remaining in Maryland or marching upon Philadelphia is, of course, not known. There are plenty of rumors afloat, and stories of an intention, announced days and weeks ago, to march northward, but when any hour may bring us authentic intelligence, these are hardly worth repeating. Our own lines are supposed to extend from Rockville to Westminster, protecting both Baltimore and Washington on this side the Potomac. In the meantime the rebels are said to complain that their reception in Maryland is not so cordial as they had anticipated, while we, on our part, have not, as yet, any record to make of an attempted insurrection at Baltimore or anywhere else in the State."

Various Items.

WASHINGTON, Tuesday, Sept. 9.—The court-martial ordered to assemble for the purpose of investigating the charges brought by Gen. Pope against Gens. Porter, Franklin and Griffin, met yesterday and adjourned. It is understood that the officers accused have been restored to their commands, on request of Gen McClellan, though Gen. Porter is still here. A witness examined to-day testified that when Porter's corps had orders to march to the reinforcement of Pope, they were led for hours by devious paths and finally found themselves further off than the point from which they started.—*Times.*

Gen. Banks is remaining in Washington slightly indisposed, but his real detention is owing to a desire on the part of the government for his counsels. He will certainly be placed in a highly responsible position before long.

McDowell's army corps (the third) has been united with Heintzelman's (the sixth), and the latter officer now commands the whole. The Washington *Republican* says: "We learn that charges were preferred by Gen. Pope against Gens. Fitz John Porter, Franklin, and Griffin, and that these Generals have declared that they acted under the orders of Gen. McClellan; and we further learn that there will be no court martial for the present, the whole matter having, at the request of Gen. McClellan, been postponed."

It is hoped and believed henceforward the policy of the government is to "attack, pursue and destroy" the enemy in the spirit of the famous general order issued last winter. The people need have no fear, if we are rightly informed, that their armies will again go into winter quarters and remain inactive for months. It is intended that they shall pursue the aggressive, and not rest until they shall have driven the foe not only out of Maryland, but out of Richmond also. If the officers in command inspire the troops with confidence and hope—if they convince them by their activity that they mean to carry out the wishes of the War Department and the General-in-Chief, there need be no apprehensions of the result. If our soldiers are well led and fight, not as they did a week ago, but as they did at Cedar Mountain at Newbern, at Williamsburg, and on many other famous battle-fields, they will beat the enemy who is reported to be thoroughly confident, being over elated by his easy success at Manassas, and if he be once thoroughly beaten he will be driven far beyond the point from which he started on the aggressive movement.—*Wash. Cor. Tribune.*

By way of Fortress Monroe, we have some news from Richmond. A boat came to Old Point on Monday with over 600 paroled Union soldiers. There were in close confinement at Richmond 62 officers of Gen. Pope's army, and about 30 soldiers. One man had been killed by shooting because another prisoner had dared to look out of the window. Richmond papers glory over the sharp dodge of stealing to sell into slavery the negroes who came under a flag of truce to bury the dead Union soldiers at Manassas. On the 18th inst, there is to be another day of fasting and prayer in Jeff. Davis's dominions. The papers complain that no names of killed and wounded are published by the rebel government. Wounded men are daily coming to Richmond, but find no place to shelter nor any one to take care of them. *The Dispatch* calls upon Congress to enforce at once the full power of the Conscription act, and drag to the field every able-bodied man between 18 and 45, to invade and destroy the North. It is said in Richmond that the new Merrimac is done, but is a failure. The last part of the assertion may as well be disbelieved.

The Charleston *Courier* finds consolation in the statement of "a gentleman from the North," who says that in New York the "reaction for peace is making swift though silent progress. Meetings of secret organizations and parties are held nightly. One of the parties, said to comprise a very large number of the most influential citizens, have put forth the following propositions for a termination of the war. 1. A cessation of all hostilities, or armistice. 2. Each party to pay its own debts. 3. The resignation or deposition of Abraham Lincoln, and a new election in all the States for a new President. 4. All the rights of the South to be guaranteed by special amendments to the Constitution and a reconstruction of the Union. 5. Failing in the above, a general convention to be held, and terms of separation agreed upon, with a treaty offensive and defensive." A very pretty programme, lacking nothing but probability.

Summary.

There is a rebellion among the English Quakers. The youthful fair of the sect have banded together in opposition to the poke bonnet and scant skirt. Crinoline of moderate periphery now surrounds their frames, and flowers and ribbons are invading the precincts of the drab. The elders are moved to lamentation, and urge plaintive remonstrances. The young men among them are also exciting consternation by joining rifle corps.

HOW THE ABOLITIONISTS DISCOURAGE ENLISTMENTS.—This is the way they do it. In consequence of a recent radical abolition speech at Newburg, by one of the most radical of the Abolitionists (Theodore Tilton), the chairman of the meeting, a former Democrat, started a subscription for a bounty fund which has since reached, as the Newburg papers mention, almost the handsome figure of twenty thousand dollars. Should not the orator go to Fort Lafayette?—*Tribune.*

MEMBERS OF THE SOCIETY OF FRIENDS are doubtless exempt from draft, by a provision in the State Constitution of Pennsylvania, although there are many young Friends in the army at the present time who have relinquished the ancient testimony of their fathers, and gone to war. The second section of article sixth of the Constitution is in these words: "The freemen of this Commonwealth shall be armed, organized and disciplined for its defence in such a manner as shall be decided by law. *Those who conscientiously scruple to bear arms shall not be* COMPELLED *to do so, but shall pay an equivalent for personal service.*"

REBEL BARBARITY.—We have, from the Cairo *Gazette*, a horrible story of rebel guerilla atrocity—almost too horrible for belief. The assertion is, that a gang of guerillas in Haywood County, Tenn., visited the house of Marshall Waters, an old and respected citizen, dashed in the door, seized the old man, tied his arms behind him, and lashed him to the back of a horse. The old man's daughter was violated by ten of the gang, being first so tied as to render resistance impossible. This accomplished, the house was burned to the ground, the young woman perishing in the flames. They then rode off with the old man, taunted him with the fate of his daughter, gave him three minutes to pray, and hung him up. A noise frightened them, and they rode off; the old man succeeded in escaping. This is all vouched for, but as we could not believe it of the devil, we must have further proof before we accuse even secession traitors of such more than infernal work.—*Tribune.*

WHAT IS AN ABOLITIONIST?—This question is very satisfactorily answered by the highest Richmond authority the well-known *Southern Literary Messenger*. Listen:

"An Abolitionist is any man who does not love slavery for its own sake, as a divine institution; who does not worship it as a corner-stone of civil liberty who does not adore it as the only possible social condition on which a permanent republican government can be created; and who does not, in his inmost soul, desire to see it extended and perpetuated over the whole earth as a means of human reformation second in dignity, importance and sacredness to the Christian religion. He who does not love African slavery with this love is an Abolitionist."

When, therefore, the rebels of the South and flippant presses and persons in the North inveigh so bitterly against "Abolitionists," we can now determine what they mean.

ABOLITIONIST SENTIMENT IN "EGYPT."—A correspondent of the St. Louis *Republican*, writing from Alton, Illinois, says: "There is another fact even more potent than the consolidation of individuals on the war question. I refer to the growth or change of public sentiment on the question of slavery. This work was begun and is caused by the Gulf slave States. These States are tolling the knell of American slavery. It is almost too late, now, for them to pause in their mad career and save their social system from destruction. Their stubborn resistance in Virginia more firmly gathers and centres the Northern determination. The swarming of guerillas in the Border States only the more inculcates the lesson of force applied to meet force, and of fighting the devil with his own fire, even to extermination. Slavery is as well the weakness as the strength of the rebellion. In sentiment, the civilized world is against it, if not against the rebels. Wherever the Northern army moves, it is annihilated. As was truly remarked in a speech of a Democrat of late, who is in the service, the rebels now term every free State man an Abolitionist, and when the latter goes to the war, every tendency is to make him so."

The Albany *Statesman* calls attention to the new evidence just afforded by the traitor Lieut. Maury, that the first movement on Richmond, which culminated in the rout and flight at Bull Run, was made not too soon, but too late. Lieut. Maury, writing from Richmond to Admiral Chabannes, in a letter published in full in these columns, some days ago, says:

"It is a fact not generally known abroad, but I may state it now, that when this war commenced, and even after it had assembled an army in the field, such was the want of preparation, and such was the lack of munitions of war on our part, that there was not only not a percussion cap machine in the Confederacy, but when the army of Manassas took up its position, it had but four rounds to the man. Had the enemy joined battle with us there a few weeks sooner than he did, we should, for the want of percussion caps, have had to quit the field or fight him entirely with the bayonet. But see what we have accomplished in the way of preparation, etc."

—Verily, says *The Statesman*, never was *Vox populi, vox Dei* truer than when the people urged the government to strike the rebellion a deadly blow before it had time to prepare for a long war.—*Tribune.*

COLONIZATION OF SECESSIA.—Hon. Eli Thayer is said to have urged upon the government, with hopes of success, the adoption of a plan for the colonization of the revolted States, as a war measure. Mr. Thayer's project is to throw Northern and foreign emigration into the insurrectionary districts of the Gulf States, armed, and under the auspices of government, in such formidable bodies as to defy guerillas. He wishes to make the initial experiment in Florida; the more inviting portions of that State to be taken forcible possession of and held by the invading loyalists, Mr. Thayer says, who are to be enlisted for six months only. There are eleven million of unappropriated lands in Florida, beside what can be taken under the law authorizing the sale of real estate for the non-payment of taxes. Mr. Thayer's friends are asking his appointment as Brigadier-General, to enable him more successfully to carry out the idea.—*Worcester (Mass.) Spy.*

PRO-SLAVERY MEN DISLOYAL.—Senator Wilson of Massachusetts, in a recent speech, forcibly and truly characterized those who *believe* in slavery as follows:

"I think, in the light of events that are transpiring in our country, that the time has passed away when any man North or South can believe in human slavery and be in favor of its extension and its perpetuity, and be loyal to the North American Republic (vociferous and prolonged applause). I can conceive—and I make the concession most cheerfully—that a man may believe slavery to be an evil, to be an existing fact, something that he does not know how to deal with, something he is willing shall continue along until God in his Providence shall overthrow it (A VOICE—'Which he is doing'); I can conceive of such a man being a loyal man—and there are such men in the country; but the man who believes slavery to be right, to be a positive good, to be an institution to be maintained, upheld, perpetuated in this democratic republic, is a traitor to his country (prolonged cheers)."

A WOMAN'S APPEAL.—Some patriotic and worthy women of Boston have initiated a petition to the President, intended to receive the signatures of the women of the country appealing to him to see that the sons, brothers and husbands whom they have given to fight his battles, are not sacrificed through the neglect, mismanagement or incompetency of their officers. They expressly ask that he will instantly seek out and dismiss those most notoriously unfit to command, and fill their places with capable, faithful and zealous officers—"So that we (the petitioners), waiting at home that issue which the God of Battles alone can give, need fear for our soldiers no evils but those inseparable from war—need fear no inefficient or untrusty quartermasters, no careless, ignorant or drunken officers, no unskillful, unfeeling or drunken surgeons." They add the clear truth to which the government has been too fatally blind: "It would be welcome to every one; for though men are prone to float on the trail platform of 'whatever is, is right,' they rejoice when some bold hand breaks it in fragments under them."

A QUEER PULPIT.—We knew that *The Journal of Commerce* was famous upon statistics, and prided itself upon its good literary taste. But we had no idea before of the powers of its rhetoric. We extract a figure from its issue of Aug. 27 that should be commended to the directors of the N. Y. Hospital:

"It is the voice of a glorious past which speaks to him, in the tones of the Fathers whose graves are with us. It is the voice of the living nation, millions on millions of whom utter the same words we utter to-day. It is the *voice of posterity, speaking from the womb of time, that calls on him to save the Constitution* which was made not for the duration of a human life, but to be the blessing of all men and all nations until the end of thrones and earthly powers. That he will be faithful we do not for one instant doubt."

This is taking part in politics rather early. Constitutional studies must be pursued under difficulties in this case. But if posterity are so greatly stirred in their minds, there is nothing for it but for the President to write them a letter. He answered Horace Greeley. Surely he will heed the sufferings of posterity in such uncomfortable quarters. But how shall he get his answer along? Will *The Journal* volunteer mail facilities?

For ourselves, we cannot be too thankful that we are already born. We prefer open-air speaking. If the President don't save the Constitution now, it is a hopeless case!—*Independent.*

THREE PERSONS REDEEMED FROM BONDAGE.—Rev. J. Sella Martin, a colored clergyman of this city, lately visited England, and while there several worthy gentlemen of that country, learning the condition of some members of his family in bondage in the South, determined to raise a sufficient sum of money to enable him to return to the United States, and purchase their freedom. The most prominent of these liberal-hearted men were Hon. A. Kennaird, Hon. and Rev. B. Noel, and Rev. John Curren, the latter a leading clergyman of the Independent Church.

The amount obtained was $2,200, and with this sum, after a lengthy correspondence and unwearied effort, Mr. Martin succeeded in inducing the owner of his sister, and her two children, a son and daughter, living in Georgia, to sell them to a negro trader, who, by agreement, carried them to Kentucky, where Mr. Martin met them, and for $2,000 secured their freedom. The joy of the meeting, where brother and sister were reunited, free forever from the thrall of slavery, can be better imagined than described.—*Liberator.*

CRINGING COWARDICE.—The War Department has made known its determination not to allow any darkey regiments to join the army, and any such that have been in progress of formation in Massachusetts or Rhode Island will find no opportunity to win renown in battle. The Administration seems to cower before the threats of Jeff. Davis like whipped curs. Gen. Hunter was furnished with firelocks and red breeches for his colored regiments, and his efforts in that respect were not countermanded by the government. But the moment a member of the Rebel Congress threatens the auction-block to all sable defenders of the Union, and the rope to their officers, the fiat goes out to disband all such organizations. The rebels dread one rifle in the hands of a nigger more than a dozen in the hands of white men. In order to avoid the necessity of taking the back-track so often, would it not be well for the government, before adopting any plan of action, to have it approved at Richmond? If disapproved in that locality, it would not be put in operation at all, which would cause less trouble and inconvenience than to get it started, and then drop it like a hot potato, because it irritates our Southern "brethren."—*New York Mercury.*

GEN. MCCLELLAN.—In conversation with several gentlemen, the President of the United States held the following language: "Gentleman, McClellan is not a traitor; his difficulty is, that he always prefers to-morrow to to-day. He never is ready to move. I think the immense importance of the interests at stake affects him thus. In this he is very much like myself. When I was practising law at Springfield, I sometimes had a case involving a man's life or death, and I never could feel that I was ready to go on with the trial; I always wished to postpone it; and when the next court came round I felt a similar impression that I was not ready, whatever preparations I had made." This was said early in February last. It is clear that the President believed that Gen. Gen McClellan would be a power in the field if he could only be moved from the banks of the Potomac. This one thing needful was supplied by the order issued by the Commander-in-Chief, that the entire army should move on the 22d of February. It is a pity that the President did not see that when a man is constitutionally behind time, no amount of shoving will make him the man for swift and energetic performance. * * * * The clamor that the objection to this General is an abolition outcry is now fortunately idle, since Gen. McClellan has issued an order inviting all slaves into his ranks, and promising them that they should never be returned to their masters. No unrevoked order is so near what an emancipationist would desire as his. But, like everything else which proceeds from him, *the order came too late.* If it had been announced instead of that about crushing them with an iron arm; if it had come before the disgraceful renditions which have so alienated the negroes that to-day they would not trust him, whatever he might promise; if it had gone out when he advanced upon the Peninsula instead of at the very moment he was leaving the Peninsula a military failure, he might have been in Richmond to-day, despite his incompetence.—*The Commonwealth.*

PATRIOTISM OF A FUGITIVE SLAVE.—Among the fugitives, says the Albany *Evening Journal*, who fled to Canada, many years ago, was a barber who used to belong to the Hudson River steamboats. He was an industrious, honest, well-conducting man, and knew those who, in early times, travelled upon steamboats. Recently he saw the name of Mrs. Pierre Van Cortlandt in the newspapers, soliciting aid for the sick and wounded soldiers. This stirred his memory and his patriotism, the fruits of which are manifest in the following literal copy of a letter written to and received by Mrs. V. C., with the $2 referred to enclosed:

"WATERLOO COUNTY, WATERLOO TOWNSHIP,
"CANADA WEST, Auggust 30, 1862.

"TO SPECTEN PIERS WIF: I ses you doin good for sogers in State. I got *nosepaper* had Misse *Van Kortland* name in, axen hepl to sarve de war—I guin to sind you 2 dolarz to hep on de gud cos. Yonr huzhan went wid de ole man Geuenn Piers on Soth Amarakka stembot more 30 yirs ago. I ustes tak kar of litels Piers on bot, and de ole man hai me—I hazant sen yong Piers in any sine time. O gld I cud se hin—now expess my indevide gatitnde to have dis congatulated plyser for discobberin your nam in de papur. dis 2$ a welkom to you and *war* ns de sun beme is dey erly riser de war iz onlokken de chas and brken de bolts dat bins our coller pussons in sluvere o i so glad dat you am helpen do kos de spirritt of de lod gine in and help you on

ROBERT JACKSON barber

"pes tel Mr Pier if he liven to think it rimber me on Stem Bote I think of him good elle."

WILL MR. LINCOLN RESIGN?—It is idle to try and disguise the truth. The nation has lost faith in the ability of President Lincoln to bring this war to a successful conclusion. That he is honest, no one doubts; but honesty is not capacity. That he means to do what is right, is also granted; but the desire to do well and the ability to accomplish it, are two very different things. For ordinary times, Mr. Lincoln would, no doubt, pass muster; but now that the very life of the nation is threatened, when the enemy, after eighteen months of war, is still thundering at the gates of the Capital, the country requires, nay demands, that the very best talent at its disposal should have the conduct of public affairs.

Mr. Lincoln, as a ruler, has two vital defects of character. He is unable to distinguish between merit and pretension, especially in the selection of Generals in the field. Hence it is that, after eighteen months of war, there are only two or three Generals in prominent positions whom the public regard as fitted for them. We are cursed with slow and incapable military leaders, because the man who places them in high position is unable to distinguish genius and military skill. Another fault of Mr. Lincoln is his good-natured timidity, which unfits him for war. As yet, none of our incompetent Generals have been called to account, disgraced, or cashiered, as they should have been, for their repeated and wretched failures. They are continued in command, to the slaughter of our troops, and the destruction of the just hopes of the nation, because Mr. Lincoln is too tender-hearted to remove them.

This is no time for concealment. The press must speak out in thunder-tones. The obstacle in the way of crushing the rebellion is not the rebel armies, but Abraham Lincoln. It is the duty of all patriots—of all who have faith in the future of the country—to let the President know the truth. We believe that the honesty for which he is famed, the real kindness of heart he is known to possess, the undoubted patriotism of his nature, will prompt him to respond to the universal desire of the nation, as soon as he is made aware of it, and induce him to surrender the care of a State, the destinies of which he is unfitted by nature and education to wield.

Let Mr. Lincoln do this, and his name will be honored forevermore. This is a great sacrifice we ask of him, but his reward to all time will be commensurate with it. He will then rank in history with those heroes who have died that their country might live. Let him resign, and he will go down honored to his grave; but if, as President, he outlives his country, his memory will be a curse and a shame to every lover of freedom in the myriad ages yet to come.—*Sunday Mercury.*

Special Notices.

☞ POSTPONEMENT OF THE WOMAN'S JOURNAL.—The changes in public affairs, leading to a prolongation of the civil war, which have occurred since our issue of the prospectus of *The Woman's Journal* in May last, have determined us, with the concurrence and advice of the friends of the enterprise, to postpone its publication to a more favorable turn of events. Meanwhile, we shall be glad to receive communications as before from those interested, at Lock Box 2, Roxbury, Mass. The money already received for subscriptions will be returned on demand, or will be deposited in bank to the credit of the parties sending it, to await the appearance of *The Journal.*

MARY L. BOOTH,
MARIE E. ZAKRZEWSKA, M.D.

Boston, August 29, 1862.

Advertisements.

FRENCH ESTABLISHMENT, No. 10 Union Square, New York, directed by Professor E. FEZANDIE, late Chief of Institution in Paris. The object of the establishment is to afford peculiar facilities for a thorough acquisition of the French Language, Literature and History, and to impart information with regard to the movement of ideas in France.

To this effect, Mr. E. Fezandie gives in his house regular series of Classes, and occasionally lectures on French subjects.

The classes are of various degrees, according to the advancement of the pupils.

There are Day and Evening Classes.

TERMS—Twelve tickets, $5. A ticket is due only when the Class or Lecture is attended.

Lessons for boys and girls under 15 years: $6 for 24 tickets.

Lectures and readings for all: $6 for 24 tickets.

The Professor accepts, as far as his leisure will permit, engagements for instruction or lectures in academies or private circles.

☞ Mr. E Fezandie receives in his family a few select Boarders.

BRISTOL BOARDING SCHOOL FOR GIRLS will open its fall session on the first Second day of the Ninth month. Terms, $75 per session of five months.

REFERENCES.

JAMES MOTT, Philadelphia.
ANNE CHURCHMAN, No 908 Franklin street, Philadelphia.
C. N. PEIRCE, 501 N. Seventh street, Philadelphia
HENRY W. RIDGWAY, Crosswicks, N. J.
DAVID L. GRISCOM, Woodbury, N. J.

For circulars address
RUTH ANNA PEIRCE, Principal, Bristol, Pa.

SHARON FEMALE SEMINARY, located near Darby, Delaware Co., Pa., will be opened for the reception of pupils on the 29th of 9th mo. (Sep.)

For particulars address, JOSIAH WILSON, MARY P. WILSON, } Principals,
Chaddsford P. O., Del. Co., Pa.

Circulars are to be had at the Anti-Slavery offices, 48 Beekman st., and 106 N. Tenth st., Philadelphia.

REPRESENTATIVE WOMEN.

LUCRETIA MOTT, MARIA WESTON CHAPMAN,
ABBY KELLEY FOSTER, LYDIA MARIA CHILD,
HARRIET BEECHER STOWE, LUCY STONE,
ANTOINETTE L. BROWN.

These friends who have so long been desiring copies of the above group—executed in Grozelier's best style—can now be supplied, by sending their orders, enclosing One Dollar for each copy, which will ensure their being promptly mailed, and in perfect condition.

An early application is necessary as the edition is very limited.

Also a few copies remaining of the original Grozelier Lithograph of William Lloyd Garrison. Price, including mailing, One Dollar.

WILLIAM C. NELL,
Anti Slavery Rooms, 221 Washington st., Boston.

MRS. K. G. SATTERIE has a few Furnished Rooms to let, with or without board, at No 148 Second Avenue, corner of East Ninth street, New York. Three of these, on the first and second floors, are spacious parlor-bedrooms, about twenty feet square. Price, according to the size and location of the rooms.

The situation, one square East of the COOPER INSTITUTE, is in one of the prettiest Avenues in the city, quiet, retired and healthy; the house standing back from the street, two and a half minutes' walk from the Fourth Avenue cars, and four minutes' walk from Broadway.

These rooms are likely to suit persons of literary or domestic habits, desiring to avoid the noise and bustle of a large, crowded boarding house.

New York, July 4, 1862.

REFERENCES.

William Cullen Bryant, Horace Greeley,
Robert Dale Owen, Marcus Spring,
Sydney Howard Gay, Oliver Johnson,
Theodore Tilton.

WHO ARE THE FREE?

THE PROGRESSIVE ANNUAL FOR 1862,

Just published at the office of THE HERALD OF PROGRESS. It contains more names of more persons and classes of Progressives and Reformers than were ever before published in one volume.

An unsectarian catalogue of progressive men and women—more than seven hundred in all! Also names and location of the Practising Women Physicians in the country.

Price, postpaid, only 15 cents. Ten copies for $1.

Address, A. J. DAVIS & CO.,
274 Canal st., New York.

HOPEDALE HOME SCHOOL.—This Institution after a suspension of some months, will be reopened to WELL-DISPOSED pupils of GOOD HABITS on WEDNESDAY, SEPT 3, for a term of FIFTEEN WEEKS.

For particulars, apply soon to

WM. S. HEYWOOD, A. B. HEYWOOD, } Principals.
Hopedale, Milford, Mass., August 4, 1862.

MILITARY EMPLOYMENT OF NEGROES.—Historical notes on the employment of negroes in the American army of the Revolution, by GEORGE H. MOORE, Librarian of N. Y. Historical Society. 10 cents. Copies sent by mail on receipt of price. Published by CHARLES T. EVANS, 532 Broadway.

REMOVAL.—Dr. R. T. HALLOCK, *Eclectic and Homœopathic Physician*, has removed to No 79 East Fifteenth street (New York). A few patients can be accommodated with rooms and board, and receive treatment from him or any other physician whom they may prefer.

CONFECTIONERY—REMOVAL.—Leatitia Bullock respectfully informs her friends and the public that she has removed to No. 152 North Sixth street, below Race, opposite the Old stand, where she is prepared to furnish ice creams, water ices, jellies, cakes, candies, &c., of every description and of the best materials, all the produce of free labor, and warranted to give entire satisfaction. Parties and families furnished at shortest notice. Orders sent to any part of the city.

"AMONG THE PINES; OR, SOUTH IN SECESSION TIME." By EDMUND KIRKE. For sale at the Anti-Slavery office in Philadelphia. Price, 5 cents in paper; 75 cents in muslin.

Miscellaneous Department.

AFTER A VICTORY.

BY CAROLINE A. MASON.

THERE is no need, sweet moon! the night
With other splendor is bedight,
The dizzened panes are all alight

With taper-gleams; and on the air,
Commingled with the rocket's glare,
A thousand torch-lights flash and flare.

'Tis late; but still, adown the street,
So gay with flags, I hear the beat
Of quick, exulting, restless feet;

And over all, incessant swells
The jangle of the village bells,
And cannon booming o'er the dells;

For tidings thrilled us yesternight
Of a brave victory; how the fight
Was fearful, but God helped the Right.

"The fight was fearful." Oh! the pain
And grief and loss against the gain;
The *joy* of Triumph, and its *bane!*

O friends! dear friends, my pulses leap
Loyal as yours; yet I could weep
Above this pageant that we keep.

Bear with me; but my heart is sore
For our dead heroes; score on score
Shall see God's sweet light nevermore.

They loved like us. The belts they drew
Close for the fight zoned hearts as true
As beat, perchance, in me or yon.

Their babes, like ours, were rosy-fair;
Had eyes as blue, as silky hair—
Their *mother's* hair and eyes; ah! *there*

Yon touch the sore spot. Pause ye, men,
Going home to wife and child; and then,
If ye have heart to, shout again.

O orphaned babes! in whose blue eyes
The mother-look so sweetly lies;
O widowed mothers! sorrow-wise,

Ye cannot see why men should shout,
And blazon hero-deeds about,
And on the air gay banners flout.

Ah, well! the dear God must decide
Which should the other over-ride—
The brighter or the darker side.

His wisdom we can ne'er forestall;
Into his scales we cast it all;
And which shall rise and which shall fall,

The seeming dross or seeming gold,
Or whether both the balance hold
In perfect poise, is all untold.

God reigns; enough! O ye who weep
And ye who shout! your faith still keep.
His ways are equal, though so deep.

Fitchburg, Mass. —*Christian Inquirer.*

OUR NATIONAL VISITATION.

AN ORATION,

BY WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON,

Delivered before the Adelphic Union Society of Williams College, Monday afternoon, August 4, 1862.

THE Hon. Edward Everett, in a speech recently made at the annual dinner of the Alumni of Harvard, forcibly remarked—"A man, I think, would show himself wanting in patriotic feeling, who, on any public occasion, of whatever nature, could forbear an allusion to the present state of the country." Believing it is the wish of the Society which has done me the honor to select me for its orator on this occasion, that I should treat upon this all absorbing theme in preference to any other, I will not disappoint any expectations that may be raised in this particular.

Ten years ago, the strength and security of the American Union seemed infinite. In every section of the country, South as well as North, fidelity to it was made an absolute test of patriotism; and its dissolution was regarded as almost beyond the scope of possible events. If, now and then, a dissenting voice was heard, prophesying its downfall as "a covenant with death and an agreement with hell," it was instantly drowned by an indignant thunder-shout from ocean to ocean, "THE UNION—IT MUST AND SHALL BE PRESERVED!" Every religious sect, every political party, the pulpit, the press, all that was influential and powerful, reiterated the cry. To "make assurance doubly sure," Union-saving meetings were held in all the great cities and towns, speeches made, resolutions adopted, and pledges recorded, in glorification of the Union; the shade of Washington was invoked, and the solemn admonition contained in his Farewell Address was duly rehearsed: "It is of infinite moment that you should properly estimate the immense value of your National Union to your collective and individual happiness: that you should cherish a cordial, habitual and immovable attachment to it; accustoming yourselves to think and speak of it as of the palladium of your political safety and prosperity." Nothing was left undone, it was popularly believed, to render the Union "one and inseparable, now and for ever."

Where, now, is the Union? Broken asunder by the very Slave Power which dictated the terms at its formation, and to propitiate which, concessions were made by the North, for a period of seventy years, as humiliating and unrighteous as they were multitudinous! Eleven of the Slave States organized into a hostile confederacy, with an army of 500,000 making deadly war upon the General government, confronted by an equal number of loyal citizens in martial array on the battle-field! Tens of thousands of victims, on both sides, killed and wounded, and a still larger number slain or crippled by exposure, hardship, and the diseases of the camp; blood still flowing in torrents; the fury of the murderous strife increasing; merciless guerilla raids in every direction by the rebels, instead of open field conflict; no sign of possible reconciliation or amicable arrangement visible; a national debt accumulating that threatens general bankruptcy; weeping and wailing throughout the land for the prematurely lost; imminent danger of foreign intervention, and consequent war with European powers; opposition to the Union in one part of the country treason, support of it in another part a capital offence; a Babel confusion of tongues as to the cause of all these horrors; no fixed, determined, efficient policy on the part of the Federal government; old friendships turned into bitterest enmities, all religious and political ties sundered, households at mortal variance, "the father against the son, the mother against the daughter, and the mother-in-law against the daughter-in-law"! Such is the awful change wrought in the brief period of twenty months!

For every event there is an antecedent cause. To us, as a nation, is fearfully applicable the declaration of the prophet: "The pride of thine heart hath deceived thee, thou that dwellest in the clefts of the rock, whose habitation is high; that saith in thine heart, Who shall bring me down to the ground? Though thou exalt thyself as the eagle, and though thou set thy nest among the stars, thence will I bring thee down, saith the Lord." Our vast increase in population, our unparalleled prosperity, our inexhaustible resources, our remote isolation from the Old World and absolute exemption from its endless dissensions, our immense and ever-widening territorial possessions, our republican form of government, our Puritan and Revolutionary descent—all these things have served to make us the vainest and most boastful of all people. We have laughed to scorn all warnings of danger, all accusations of sinfulness, all threats of divine retribution. Like ancient Edom, we have exalted ourselves as "the eagle," and set our nest among "the stars"—nay, we have made the EAGLE and the STARS our national symbols—and defiantly said, "Who shall bring us down to the ground?" But the justice of God has been too strong for us, and we are prostrate in the dust. For our guilt is identical with that of Edom, in the matter of oppression, and of complicity with oppressors: "For thy violence against thy brother Jacob, shame shall cover thee, and thou shalt be cut off forever. Thou shouldest not have rejoiced over the children of Judah in the day of their destruction; neither shouldest thou have spoken proudly in the day of distress; nor have laid hands on their substance in the day of their calamity; neither shouldest thou have stood in the crossway to cut off those of his that did escape; neither shouldest thou have delivered up those of his that did remain in the day of distress—[i. e., in accordance with Fugitive Slave law arrangements]. As thou hast done, it shall be done unto thee: thy reward shall return upon thine own head."

Let casuists reason as they may—let demagogues rave as they will—let religious soothsayers and political astrologers divine as they list—let knavish deceivers deal in slander and misrepresentation as they choose—in order to hide the one great damning sin of the nation, and to hold responsible for our calamities the only class that have uncompromisingly defended the cause of the needy and oppressed; still, it remains a plain, comprehensive, undeniable truth, which refutes all lies, exposes all shams, settles all doubts, decides all questions of relative guilt and innocency: "*Ye have not hearkened unto me in proclaiming liberty, every man to his brother, and every man to his neighbor: behold, I proclaim a liberty for you, saith the Lord, to the sword, to the pestilence, and to the famine.*" This heavy judgment, therefore, is of God; and to say it is all owing to the desperate ambition of a few Southern leaders, on the one hand, and to a contemptible number of fanatical Abolitionists, on the other, whose joint execution would bring peace and unity to our torn and bleeding country, is to insult the Divine Majesty, and to evince absolute moral idiocy. For it is the natural and inevitable operation of the law of eternal justice. It is because the nation, through hardness of heart and blindness of mind, would not have it otherwise.

In this distracted state of the country, let not the minions of despotism in the Old World find hope or consolation in the failure of democracy in the New. With us, democracy has not been a failure, because it yet remains to be tried. Genuine democracy includes all in its regards, irrespective of race, color or sex. The Declaration of Independence still remains true, in spite of our national recreancy to it. Those who enslave their fellow-creatures, or who connive at their enslavement, are not democrats, but cheats and dissemblers if they pretend to be such. It is not the democratic but the despotic principle of rule, in its extremest form, that they are reducing to practice; for chattel slavery is the sum of all despotisms as well as of all villanies. As Christianity is utterly incompatible with heathenism, so democracy is with slavery. A democratic slave State is as incoherent in speech, and as absurd in idea, as a Christian idolatrous State. No democrat can possibly be a slaveholder, any more than a genuine Christian can be a devotee of Juggernaut.

> "Thank Heaven! the lines are drawn this hour,
> 'Twixt Manly Right and Despot Power!
> In vain of 'Equal Rights' ye prate,
> Who fawn like dogs at Slavery's gate!
> Who plants good seed in Freedom's span,
> He only is my UNION MAN!
> Who treads the weeds of Slavery flat,
> He is my LOYAL DEMOCRAT!"

The revolutionary struggle of 1776, though recognizing in the abstract the natural, inalienable, God-given right of every human being to liberty, was commenced, continued and ended with half a million slaves unredeemed. It was not a struggle, therefore, for the rights of human nature, but for colonial freedom and independence. It was based, not upon the doctrine of human brotherhood, but upon complexional caste and geographical position. The people who could not endure a stamp upon their paper, or a tax upon their tea, by the British Parliament, without their consent, could at the same time despoil of every right, and subject to hopeless bondage, a vast multitude of their unoffending fellow-creatures. While, in one breath, they could denounce taxation without representation as a grievance too intolerable to be borne, in the next, they could unblushingly defend the right to buy, sell, inherit and bequeath, as marketable commodities, husbands and wives, parents and children, relatives and friends, "in lots to suit purchasers." While they were ready to lay down their lives, rather than submit to the civil and political disabilities imposed by the mother country, they were equally ready to maintain, at all hazards, the rightful enslavement of the African race. In view of this shocking inconsistency, Thomas Jefferson, in his "Notes on Virginia," was constrained to exclaim—"What an incomprehensible machine is man! who can endure toil, famine, stripes, imprisonment, and death itself, in vindication of his own liberty, and the next moment be deaf to all those motives whose power supported him through his trial, and inflict on his fellow-men a bondage, one hour of which is fraught with more misery than ages of that which he rose in rebellion to oppose."

To this day, liberty, as a principle, is not comprehended in this country; nay, it is almost universally rejected as a dogma equally fanatical and dangerous. The annual Fourth-of-July rehearsal of the Declaration of Independence serves only to show the extent of our effrontery and the depth of our shame. Half a million slaves in 1776 have multiplied to four million in 1862. Nothing has been so odious, nothing so perilous, for thirty years past, as to plead their cause, and demand their immediate liberation. In every part of the country, their enslavement has been vindicated as a necessity, a duty, a scriptural permission, a divine ordination, an act of philanthropy. Of our three thousand public journals, less than half a dozen oppose it as inherently iniquitous: of the forty thousand pulpits, a very small proportion advocate its instant abolition as a religious duty. There is still universal incredulity as to the safety and success of such abolition; all conceivable difficulties, dangers and horrors are thrown around it. The pleas for its continuance are not less perverse than multifarious. The victims are an inferior race; they are better off in slavery than they would be out of it; they do not want to be free; they could not take care of themselves, because of their laziness and improvidence, if they were liberated; they are under the curse of Canaan; the prejudice against them is natural and unconquerable; they can never rise in the scale of being here; they would commit the most dreadful excesses, if turned loose; their emancipation should be remote, gradual and conditioned on expatriation, if ever attempted. These declarations are made by all classes, in every section of the country, with as much assurance as though they were eternal verities; whereas, they are lies and calumnies. For, if true, then the Declaration of Independence is indeed a "rhetorical flourish," the rights of human nature are mockeries, and the Golden Rule no test of moral obligation. No man has any natural or acquired right to liberty above another. If to enslave a native on the African coast is a piratical act, it is no less so to enslave one of African descent in the United States. The right of one slave to be free is the right of every other. If its enjoyment would be safe in one case, it would be safe in all cases. Evidence is no more needed to prove this, than it is to prove that sobriety is better than drunkenness, honesty better than robbery, purity better than licentiousness. The results of emancipation are as sure as the law of gravitation. They all run in one direction, to the triumphant vindication of the measure; but, of course, those who are disposed to deny personal freedom to the enslaved will not care to study the facts of emancipation. On the contrary, they will impudently deny or grossly pervert them.

None are more loose in their ideas than those who raise the outcry, "It will never do to turn the slaves all loose at once!" So Pharaoh decided when Moses and Aaron said to him, in behalf of the oppressed children of Israel, "Thus saith the Lord God, Let my people go." It was a demand for immediate, unconditional, universal emancipation; in other words, what in this land is everywhere denounced as fanatical, destructive, pestilent Abolitionism. Precisely the same demand was made through the prophet to the Jewish oppressors in his own day: "Loose the bands of wickedness, undo the heavy burdens, let the oppressed go free, break every yoke." Every yoke includes all yokes, leaves no one in the house of bondage, brings instant and universal deliverance. "It would be an act of madness here!" exclaim men who profess to believe in the Bible as the inspired word of God, and to be the disciples of Him who came to set the captives free. "Break every yoke!" is still the inexorable command. What is their response? "Lord, give us time; not to-day, but in the distant future; not all at once, but very gradually; it is a very delicate and complicated matter; it would reduce to penury masters and mistresses who are now surrounded by every comfort, and transform happy and contented slaves into vagabonds and cut-throats!" Still thunders from the heavens the command, "Break every yoke!" Again they expostulate—"Lord! think of the loss of the cotton crop! Think of the blow that would be given to commerce and manufactures! Think of the shock that would be given to our glorious Union! Think of all the terrible consequences of an act so rash and unadvisable! Why, Lord, it is nothing short of downright Garrisonian Abolitionism!"

Such atheistical distrust, such guilty apprehensions, are condescendingly met with the most cheering assurances and the richest promises in case of obedience. Here is the enumeration: "If thou take away from the midst of thee the yoke, the putting forth of the finger, and speaking vanity; and if thou draw out thy soul to the hungry, and satisfy the afflicted soul, then shall thy light rise in obscurity, and thy darkness be as the noon-day; and thy health shall spring forth speedily; thy righteousness shall go before thee; the glory of the Lord shall be thy rereward. Then shalt thou call, and the Lord shall answer; thou shalt cry, and he shall say, Here I am, and the Lord shall guide thee continually, and satisfy thy soul in drought, and make fat thy bones; and thou shalt be like a watered garden, and like a spring of water, whose waters fail not. And they that shall be of thee shall build the old waste places; thou shalt raise up the foundations of many generations; and thou shalt be called, The repairer of the breach, the restorer of paths to dwell in."

From the hour when these sacred pledges were given down to the present time, there has never been an instance in which they have not been all redeemed by the substitution of liberty for slavery; and there never will be, while fire burns, or water runs, or the seasons roll. The promises of God are sure, and human nature is the same in all time, throughout the world. Liberty is light, slavery is darkness; liberty is health, slavery is disease; liberty is prosperity, slavery is destitution and general bankruptcy; liberty builds the old waste places, slavery creates them; liberty is the repairer of the breach, slavery fills the land with division and strife.

The first pledge given is, "Then shall thy light break forth as the morning." Behold its literal fulfilment before our own eyes, even in the midst of the distraction of civil war! Look at the thousands of emancipated slaves at Port Royal, Beaufort, and Fortress Monroe, at once supplied with teachers, spelling-books and Bibles, all as eager to learn as the starving are to receive nourishment; all making cheering progress in the rudiments of education; all improving in moral character and physical condition, in self-respect and self-reliance. All the other promised blessings will be sure to follow in their order.

How was it in the case of calumniated St. Domingo, of whose "horrors" the enemies of negro emancipation are never weary of descanting? By an act of the National Assembly of France in 1793, slavery was abolished in that island, root and branch. What followed? Any excesses or "horrors"? Exactly the reverse. Col. Malenfant, a resident slaveholder in the island at the time, in his "Historical and Political Memoir of the Colonies," says:

> "After this public act of emancipation, the negroes remained quiet, both in the south and west. There were estates which had neither owners nor managers upon them; yet upon those estates, though abandoned, the negroes continued their labors, where there were any of the interior agents left to guide them; and where there was no white man, in any capacity, to take direction of affairs, they betook themselves to planting provisions. On the plantation Gouraud, I managed four hundred and fifty laborers for more than eight months after liberty had been granted them. *Not one of them refused to work.* Yet that plantation was reputed to have been under the worst discipline, and the slaves the most idle in the plain. I inspired the same activity into three other plantations, of which I had the management. Ninety-nine out of a hundred blacks are perfectly well aware that labor is the process by which they can obtain means to gratify their wants and their tastes; and therefore they are desirous to work."

Three years later, in 1796, he testifies: "The Colony is flourishing. The whites live peacefully and happily upon their estates, and the negroes continue to work for them." In his "Memoirs for a History of St. Domingo," Gen. Lecroix, in 1797, says: "Cultivation prospers, and every day furnishes perceptible proof of progress." Four years afterward, Napoleon Bonaparte, "instigated by the devil," sent out a formidable armament to reëstablish slavery in that island, and to reduce its free inhabitants to the condition of chattels. Bravely, desperately and successfully did they defend their liberties against the invading horde; and then—and not till then—those "horrors" ensued, of which so much is ignorantly and perversely said, and for the initiation of which the French soldiers were responsible, themselves perpetrating all conceivable crimes and atrocities, and compelling terrible retaliation on the part of those whom they sought to load with chains, and who, for more than seven years, had been prospering in a state of freedom.

> "O Liberty! can man resign thee,
> Once having felt thy generous flame?
> Can dungeon-bolts or bars confine thee,
> Or whips thy noble spirit tame?"

Of those who raise the mad-dog cry, "The Horrors of St. Domingo!" how many (does any one) ever hint at the revolting perfidy of Napoleon, the barbarous attempt to reënslave an emancipated people, the horrible tortures devised and inflicted by the ruthless invaders, the very natural resistance made to baffle their oppressive designs by the invaded, or the righteous retribution that fell upon the heads of the slave-propagandists? While every other people, who have ever gallantly defended their rights and liberties when menaced, are esteemed and applauded, on what principle of justice are the unconquerable freemen of St. Domingo to be excluded from general approval and admiration? Gracious Heaven! to think of their brave but desperate efforts to save themselves and their posterity from yokes and fetters being held up, in this boasted land of freedom, in order to subserve the interests of Southern slavery, as attempts of emancipated slaves to cut their master's throats, in consequence of their liberation from bondage! What historic falsification for an infernal purpose!

The solemn and impressive lesson taught by St. Domingo is this—not the danger of letting the oppressed go free, but the madness and folly of seeking to turn freemen into slaves! It serves to make the position of the Abolitionists all the more impregnable, and to illustrate all the more strikingly the ignorance and folly of their opponents.

How was it in the case of British West India Emancipation? Was any blood shed, any riotous outbreak made, the personal safety of any white man or woman endangered, any disposition manifested to indulge in idleness and vagabondism? No. There is no event in history more creditable to human nature, or more sublime in its features. In Antigua, the boon of freedom was reverently received at midnight, on bended knee, by its recipients, in their crowded chapels. Says one of the missionaries:

> "The first of August came on Friday; and a release from all work was proclaimed until the next Monday. The great mass of the negroes spent the day chiefly in the churches and chapels. In every quarter, the day was like a sabbath. A sabbath indeed! when 'the wicked cease from troubling, and the weary are at rest.' There was not a single dance, by night or day; not even so much as a fiddle played. There were no drunken carousals, no riotous assemblies. The emancipated were as far from dissipation and debauchery as they were from violence and carnage. *Gratitude was the absorbing emotion.* From the hill-tops and the valleys, the cry of a disenthralled people went upward, like the sound of many waters: 'Glory to God! Glory to God!'"

Rev. James Phillippo, Baptist missionary in Jamaica, thus describes the day and the event:

> "On the preceding evening, the missionary stations throughout the island were crowded with people, filling all the places of worship. They remained at their devotions till the day of liberty dawned, when they saluted it with joyous acclamations. Then they dispersed through the towns and villages, singing, 'God save the Queen!' and rending the air with their shouts: 'Freedom's come!' 'We're free! we're free!' 'Our wives and children are free!' During the day, the places of worship were crowded to suffocation. The scenes presented exceeded all description. Joyous excitement pervaded the whole island. At Spanish Town, the Governor, Sir Lionel Smith, addressed the emancipated people, who formed a procession of 7,000, and escorted the children of the schools, about 2,000 in number, to the Government House. They bore banners and flags with various inscriptions, of which the following are samples: 'Education, Religion and Social Order.' 'August First, 1838; the day of our Freedom.' 'Truth and Justice have at last prevailed.' The children sang before the Government House, and His Excellency made a speech characterized by simplicity and affection, which was received with enthusiastic cheers. The procession then escorted their pastor to his house. In front of the Baptist church were three triumphal arches, decorated with leaves and flowers, and surmounted by flags, bearing the inscriptions, 'Freedom has come!' 'Slavery is no more!' 'The chains are broken, Africa is free!' The enthusiasm of the multitude was wound up to the highest pitch.
>
> "Several of the kindly disposed planters gave rural fetes to the laborers. Long tables were spread in the lawns; arches of evergreen were festooned with flowers; and on the trees floated banners, bearing the names of those who had been most conspicuous in bringing about this blessed result. Songs were sung, speeches made, prayers offered, and a plentiful repast eaten. Mr. Phillippo says: 'The conduct of the newly emancipated peasantry would have done credit to Christians of the most civilized country in the world. They were clean in their persons, and neat in their attire. Their behavior was modest, unassuming and decorous in a high degree. There was no crowding, no vulgar familiarity, but all were courteous and obliging to each other, as members of one harmonious family. There was no dancing, gambling, or carousing. All seemed to have a sense of the obligations they owed to their masters, to each other and to the civil authorities. The masters who were present at these fetes congratulated their former dependents on the boon they had received, and hopes were mutually expressed that all differences and wrongs might be forgiven. Harmony and cheerfulness smiled on every countenance. Many of the laborers gave their first week of free labor as an offering of good will to their masters. Not a single instance of violence or insubordination, of serious disagreement or of intemperance, occurred in any part of the island.'"

Surely, this was a scene on which angels might have gazed with wonder and rapture! Surely, the whitest complexioned race could not have done better, under similar circumstances! Nevertheless, in this country, the most atrocious misrepresentations of the workings of West India Emancipation have been perseveringly made by the enemies of the negro race. All the statistics of the various islands prove that the experiment has been eminently successful. Revenue steadily augmenting; land doubling in value; population increasing where in the days of slavery it was rapidly becoming extinct; confidence, enterprise, industry, education advancing; exports and imports largely increasing; peace and contentment everywhere abounding.

Here are a few statistics. The annual import trade of British Guiana, Barbadoes and Antigua, before emancipation was valued at $8,840,000; now at $14,600,000; or an excess of imports, under a free system, of the value of five million, seven hundred and sixty thousand dollars. For four years prior to emancipation, British Guiana exported an annual average of 98,000,000 lbs. of sugar; while from 1856 to 1860, its annual average export rose to 100,600,000 lbs. For four years prior to emancipation, Trinidad annually exported an average of 37,000,000 lbs. of sugar; while from 1856 to 1860, its annual average export rose to 62,000,000 lbs. Four years prior to emancipation, Barbadoes annually exported an average of 32,800,000 lbs.; from 1856 to 1860, its annual average export rose to 78,000,000 lbs. During ten years preceding emancipation, the average number of vessels that annually entered the different ports of Antigua was 340, and the tonnage 30,000. In 1858, the number of vessels was 668, and the tonnage 42,534. In 1846, there were in the island 67 villages, containing 3,187 houses and 9,033 inhabitants. All these villages were founded, and all these houses built, since emancipation. In 1858, 2,000 additional houses had been built, and the number of village residents had risen to 15,644. At the same period there were only 299 paupers in the island. In St. Vincent, there were no paupers. The returns for 1857 show that no less than 8,209 persons were living in their own houses, built by themselves since emancipation. Within the last twelve years, from ten to twelve thousand acres have been brought under cultivation by small proprietors, owning from one to five acres. In Jamaica, under slavery, the cultivation of an acre of cane cost $80; now, $40. Then, digging an acre of cane-holes cost from $35 to $45; now, from $8 to $15. Between 1853 and 1855, there was an increase in exports from Jamaica to the amount of $804,507 40. In his speech, at the opening of the Legislature in 1858, the Governor says: "A still progressive increase, both in the quantity of the staple exports, and in the amount of revenue derived from duties on articles of consumption, indicate a gradual improvement in the productive industry of the colony." Sixteen years ago, there was scarcely a colored landholder on the island; now the number of colored proprietors is over 100,000, and continually increasing; and this, too, with wages ranging from eighteen to twenty-four cents a day. It is estimated that the sum total of the property which has been accumulated since emancipation in 1838, is not less than $12,000,000. The emancipated had built 220 chapels, independent of the Established Church; in connection with which there were 53,000 communicants, or about one-eighth of the entire population. They raise every year, for religious purposes, at least $100,000. In Mauritius, the sugar crop, during the last ten years of slavery, averaged 68,741,120 lbs. annually. During four years after emancipation, the average crop was 171,122,500 lbs.; an increase of 102 million of pounds annually; nearly 150 per cent. in favor of free labor. (1)

These cheering facts—authenticated by governors and magistrates, by parliamentary returns, by resident missionaries and planters, by intelligent tourists and other competent witnesses—though trite and familiar to every Abolitionist, are wholly unknown to the great mass of the American people, who, in their ignorance or their prejudice, still assert that West India Emancipation has resulted in the ruin of the colonies! What! can it prove ruinous to any people to cease robbing the laborer of the fruits of his hard-earned toil, and to pay him equitable wages! Ruinous to instruct the ignorant, lift up the fallen, and give sight to the blind! Ruinous to recognize man as man, and not as a thing of barter or beast of burden! Ruinous to restore, protect and hallow the marriage institution, where the uncleanness of Sodom prevails! Ruinous to guard and sanctify the parental and filial relations of life, and to render secure and sacred every hearthstone! Ruinous to abolish the traffic in the bodies and souls of men, women and children, and to bring them under the control and protection of equal laws! What infatuation is comparable to this?

Surely, it is "righteousness that exalteth a nation," while "sin is a reproach to any people." God is a liberal rewarder of those who diligently seek him. Obedience to his laws is the only true science of political economy as well as of morals—the only way to obtain solid prosperity and reliable capital. It is as true of us, as a people, as it was of the Israelites in the days of Moses:

> "And it shall come to pass, if thou shalt hearken diligently unto the voice of the Lord thy God, to observe and do all his commandments, that the Lord thy God will set thee on high above all nations of the earth. And all these blessings shall come on thee and overtake thee: Blessed shalt thou be in the city, and blessed shalt thou be in the field. Blessed shall be thy basket and thy store. Blessed shalt thou be when thou comest in, and blessed shalt thou be when thou goest out. The Lord shall cause thine enemies that rise up against thee to be smitten before thy face: they shall come out against thee one way, and flee before thee seven ways. The Lord shall command the blessing upon thee in thy store-houses, and in all that thou settest thine hand unto. And the Lord shall make thee plenteous in goods, in the fruit of thy body, and in the fruit of thy cattle, and in the fruit of thy ground: and thou shalt lend unto many nations, and thou shalt not borrow. And the Lord shall make thee the head, and not the tail; and thou shalt be above only, and thou shalt not be beneath."

This is one side of the shield—the other reads as follows:

> "But it shall come to pass, if thou wilt not hearken unto the voice of the Lord thy God, to observe to do all his commandments and statutes, that all these curses shall come upon thee and overtake thee: Cursed shalt thou be in the city, and cursed shalt thou be in the field. Cursed shall be thy basket and thy store. Cursed shall be the fruit of thy body, and the fruit of thy land, the increase of thy kine, and the flocks of thy sheep. The Lord shall smite thee with a consumption, and with a fever, and with an inflammation, and with an extreme burning, and with the sword. The Lord shall cause thee to be smitten before thine enemies: thou shalt go out one way against them, and flee seven ways before them. And thou shalt grope at noonday, as the blind gropeth in darkness, and thou shalt not prosper in thy ways. And thou shalt become an astonishment, a proverb, and a byword among all nations. And it shall come to pass, that as the Lord rejoiced over you to do you good, and to multiply you; so the Lord will rejoice over you to destroy you, and to bring you to nought."

And all these blessings or curses, not because of any favoritism on the one hand, or vindictiveness on the other—nor in consequence of any suspension of natural law, or miraculous interposition—but because of obedience to or disregard of those obligations, relations and duties, which God has imposed upon the whole human race; because as a people sow, that shall they also reap. But, alas! this guilty nation has no steadfast faith in justice, no abiding reverence for liberty, no fixed purpose to obey the divine commandments. Hence, the calamities which now overwhelm it, and the fiery plagues poured out upon it.

Let me be understood. I readily concede that to the South belongs the dread responsibility of causelessly plunging the country into a civil war, which, in malignity and ferocity on her part, and in extent of territory and population, finds no parallel in history. All her accusations against the North, and against the Federal government, which she makes the grounds of her justification for raising the standard of rebellion, are the foulest calumnies. She has no grievance to show, no wound to be healed, no wrong to be redressed. Up to the hour of her traitorous secession, she had always controlled the government, and shaped the national policy. In her hands the North had been as clay in the hands of the potter. What she had insisted upon, the North had obsequiously yielded. For seventy years she had had "the lion's share" of all the honors, emoluments and offices provided under the Constitution; and even when she seceded, the President of her choice occupied the chair of State, and the party with which she had always affiliated was in power. The election of Mr. Lincoln as the successor of Mr. Buchanan indicated no wish or purpose to interfere with her "peculiar institution," or to deny to her any of her recognized constitutional guaranties. No President has been more conservative than Mr. Lincoln, in that direction. Besides, as an absolute safeguard against Federal usurpation, the South still retained a majority of those who were her allies in both Houses of Congress; so that it was in her power to prevent any legislation injurious to her own interests. In addition to this, and yet more reliable, the Supreme Court of the United States, as constituted, with Chief-Justice Taney at its head, formed a judicial Gibraltar, behind which she was invulnerable to attack. But she did not wait to see what would be the policy of the new Administration—no, not even for the inauguration of the new President. Her secession from the Union, therefore, was as wanton, perfidious and treasonable an act as unmixed human depravity could perpetrate, and an audacious repudiation of the right of the people to choose their own rulers. The Federal government is acting strictly in self-defence against her diabolical machinations, and on the issue presented deserves the sympathy, support and vindication of every upright citizen.

But, while it is true that the North may justly plead "not guilty" to the accusations brought against her by the South, it is not less true that she is to be held morally responsible, to a fearful extent, for the terrible infliction under which the nation is now suffering. She left nothing undone to encourage and stimulate the slave oligarchy to make any demand, however insolent, or to form any plot, however treasonable, to accomplish their purposes—namely, by frequent sinful concessions; by persistent religious and political fellowship; by elaborate ethical defences of slaveholding; by fierce denunciations of those who advocated immediate emancipation as the right of the slaves and the duty of the masters; by making the interests of trade and commerce paramount to those of bleeding humanity; by entering into "a covenant with death and an agreement with hell"; by numberless pro-slavery mobs to put down freedom of speech and stifle investigation; by a cruel proscription of the free colored people on her own soil; by active and thorough complicity, to give protection and perpetuity to slavery where it now exists, so as to propitiate the bullying "lords of the lash," and thereby save the Union which they continually menaced in order to achieve success.

While, therefore, the North is innocent of every charge brought against her by the traitorous secessionists, she is verily guilty concerning that execrable system of oppression, out of which this rebellion has naturally and necessarily sprung. However justly she may declaim against the perfidious and piratical course of the South, let her remember her past guilty complicity, put her hand upon her mouth, and her mouth in the dust, and in the bitterness of her anguish cry, "Unclean! unclean! God be merciful to me a sinner!"

Therefore it is that upon the whole land are poured out the vials of divine retribution. "Thus saith the Lord: For three transgressions of Israel, and for four, I will not turn away the punishment thereof; because they sold the righteous for silver, and the poor for a pair of shoes; that pant after the dust of the earth on the head of the poor, and turn aside the way of the meek. Behold, I am pressed under you, as a cart is pressed that is full of sheaves. Therefore the flight shall perish from the swift, and the strong shall not strengthen his force, neither shall the mighty deliver himself; neither shall he stand that handleth the bow; and he that is swift of foot shall not deliver himself; neither shall he that rideth the horse deliver himself; and he that is courageous among the mighty shall flee away naked in that day, saith the Lord."

Are there any signs of repentance in any quarter? For what other avowed purpose has the Southern Confederacy been formed but to give wider extension and better security to the accursed slave system? To quote the language of its Vice-President, Alexander H. Stephens:

> "The new Constitution has put at rest forever all agitating questions relating to our peculiar institution—African slavery, as it exists among us, the proper status of the negro in our form of civilization. This was the immediate cause of the late rupture, and of the present revolution. The foundations of our new government are laid, its corner-stone rests on the great truth, that the negro is not equal to the white man; that slavery, subordination to the superior race, is his natural and normal condition. This, our new government, is the first in the history of the world, based upon this great physical, philosophical and moral truth. This stone, which was rejected by the builders, is become the chief stone of the corner of our new edifice."

And for thus outraging all the principles of justice and humanity, pouring contempt upon the brotherhood of the human race, and impiously defying God, that Confederacy is now in righteous judgment given up to fire and blood, and utter desolation:

> "Babylon is fallen, is fallen, and is become the habitation of devils, and the hold of every foul spirit, and a cage of every unclean and hateful bird. For her sins have reached unto heaven, and God hath remembered her iniquities. Double unto her double, according to her works: in the cup which she hath filled, fill to her double. How much she hath glorified herself, and lived deliciously, so much torment and sorrow give her: for she saith in her heart, I sit a queen, and am no widow, and shall see no sorrow. Therefore shall her plagues come in one day, death, and mourning, and famine; and she shall be utterly burned with fire: for strong is the Lord God who judgeth her. And the merchants of the earth shall weep and mourn over her: for no man buyeth her merchandise any more: the merchandise of cotton, and sugar, and rice, and fine flour, and beasts, and SLAVES AND SOULS OF MEN. Rejoice over her, thou heaven, and ye holy apostles and prophets; for God hath avenged you on her."

Is the North exhibiting any signs of humiliation or repentance for her share of the tremendous guilt incurred in consequence of our great national transgression? Exceptional cases there are—

> "Like angel's visits, few and far between"—

where confession of sin is heartily made, and forgiveness supplicated, and atonement to the oppressed sought; but collectively she continues to despise, spurn and ostracise the entire colored population, in a shameful manner. Upon their sufferings and sorrows she gazes with pitiless eye and stony heart; to recognize their human equality she is as unwilling as though they had no human blood running in their veins—no God for their father, no Christ for their Redeemer, no immortal life for their destiny; to interpose in any manner for the liberation of the enslaved, even for her own self-preservation, and to save the life of the republic, she yet obstinately refuses. So smitten is she with infatuation, so all-controlling is the sorcery-spell still exercised upon her by the demon-spirit of slavery—that she chooses to have four million of slaves (a population as large as that of all New England) left in the hands of their traitorous masters, to be used in every possible manner to secure victory to the Confederate States, and consequent defeat and disgrace to the Federal government, rather than to have them pronounced free, by governmental edict, under the war power, and made effective as loyal laborers and soldiers for the speedy extinction of the rebellion. At best, even in the application of the Confiscation Act, in any use to be made of them, it is only the vindication of the flag, and not any regard for their rights, that is deemed worthy of consideration. Is not this a frightful exhibition of pride and folly? Where is our Christianity? where our humanity? Where our common sense? What right have we to expect that Heaven will smile upon our efforts, and not visit us for our misdeeds?

The only alternative presented to the government is either to abolish slavery, or be overthrown by it. Attempt what we may, we can never restore "the Union as it was"—it is madness to think of it—nor ought we to do it if we could. It has been an insane experiment from the beginning to reconcile ideas, interests, objects, aspirations and destinies, which in all ages have been, and in the nature of things must be, fiercely antagonistical. To try it over again would end in a fresh baptism of blood, another civil war, and still more terrific consequences. Besides, it is against "the Union as it was." and "the Constitution as it is," that the South has sprung to arms, and of which she declares her eternal hatred, and her irrevocable independence; for these have undergone no change in their features, in letter or spirit. Radically wrong as these are in their pro-slavery guaranties, and shaped as they were at their formation in accordance with her wishes, nevertheless she has grown so depraved and despotic under the corrupting influence of her slave system, so monstrous are her demands, and so desperate her necessities, that she can no longer remain in the old compact; and therefore this rebellion. Take the following explicit declaration from the inaugural address of Jefferson Davis:

> "The government had ceased to answer the ends for which it was ordained and established. To save ourselves from a revolution which, in its silent but rapid progress, was about to place us under the despotism of numbers, and to preserve in spirit, as well as in form, a system of government we believe to be peculiarly fitted to our condition, and full of promise for mankind, (!) we determined to make a new association, composed of States homogeneous in interest, in policy, and in feeling."

Here are three distinct and startling avowals. The first is, that the government of our fathers is not adequate to the requirements of slavery, and therefore must be repudiated; the second is, that the democratic principle—to wit, that the majority shall govern—is "the despotism of numbers," and therefore (now that the South has for the first time been outvoted) should no longer be tolerated; and the third is, that the system of government, "peculiarly fitted to the condition of the South," is that which will enable a slaveholding oligarchy to have all the power in their hands for the maintenance, extension and perpetuity of slave institutions. It is a war, on the part of these conspirators, not only against Abolitionism *per se*, but against the fundamental doctrine of democracy, of the right of the people to form their own institutions and administer their own government.

These sentiments are openly avowed by every Southern journal. In DeBow's *Review*, the organ of the slavocracy, the lines are boldly drawn as follows:

> "The real civilization of a country is in its aristocracy. The masses are moulded into soldiers and artisans by intellect, just as matter and the elements of nature are made into telegraphs and steam-engines. The poor, who labor all day, are too tired at night to study books. If you make them learned, they soon forget all that is necessary in the common transactions of life."
>
> "To make an aristocrat in the future, *we must sacrifice a thousand paupers.* Yet we would by all means make them—make them prominent, too, by laws of entail and primogeniture."
>
> "The right to govern resides in a very small minority; the duty to obey is inherent in the great mass of mankind."
>
> "There is nothing to which the South entertains so great a dislike as universal suffrage. Wherever foreigners settle together in large numbers, there universal suffrage will exist."
>
> "An aristocracy is patriarchal, parental, and representative. The feudal Barons of England were next to the fathers the most perfect representative government. The Kings and Barons represented everybody, *because everybody belonged to them.*"
>
> "The real contest of to-day is not simply between the North and South; but to determine whether, for ages to come, our government shall partake more of the form of monarchies or of more liberal governments."
>
> "All government begins with usurpation, and is continued by force."

What is this but Toryism run to seed, a repeal of the Declaration of Independence, pouring contempt upon our revolutionary struggle, and going back not merely to kingly rule, but to the feudalism of the dark ages? Observe—in these extracts, no reference is made to Abolitionism; it is a deadly issue made with a republican form of government.

Indeed, the hatred and contempt of the South for all free institutions seem to be boundless. Here is a familiar illustration from the Richmond *Examiner*:

> "We have got to hating everything with the prefix *free;* from free negroes down and up through the whole catalogue. Free farms, free labor, free society, free will, free thinking, free children, and free schools, all belong to the same brood of damnable *isms.* But *the worst of all these abominations* is the modern system of *free schools.* The New England system of free schools has been the cause and prolific source of the infidelities and treasons that have turned her schools into Sodoms and Gomorrahs, and her land into the common nestling-places of howling bedlamites. We abominate the system, *because the schools are free.*"

Observe again—in this bitterly contemptuous outpouring, not an allusion is made to Abolitionism, but it is indiscriminately applied to the audience before me, to the people of the North collectively. Let all those who have been deluded with the idea, that the South objects to nothing but the anti-slavery sentiment of the North, lay these things to heart. Haughty and barbarous, she claims the right not only to enslave the descendants of Africa, but to hold in subjugation those who have Pilgrim and Puritan blood running in their veins. Listen to the language of the Richmond *Whig*:

> "The whole experience of the war is an attestation of the truth long since discovered by impartial observers, that *the master race of this continent is found in the Southern States.* Of a better stock originally, and habituated to manlier pursuits and exercises, they have ruled in the affairs of State by force of the stronger will and larger wisdom that pertain to and distinguish *superior races of men,* while on the field of battle they have in every contest held a priority of place conceded to them by their present adversaries.
>
> "*This natural dominancy of the Southern people has had much to do in bringing on the war. The inferior race,* grown strong in numbers and ambitious from prosperity, *have revolted against,* and now seek to overthrow and destroy *those whose superiority was a constant source of envy and self-reproach.* There is no fiercer malevolence than that of caste, and it is this which has so long stirred the Yankee bile. Always, in the presence of the Southern gentleman, he has felt *a strong and painfully repressed impulse to take off his hat.* This consciousness of inferiority has galled the jealous and malignant creature until he has *broken out in servile insurrection.* He has vainly concluded that his numbers can overwhelm and exterminate the objects of his envy, and that he, succeeding to the broad acres and liberal latitudes of the Southern gentry, will come to be looked upon as a gentleman too!
>
> "With us, the contest is one for [illegible] sacred things of home, for *the old republic* [illegible] with the Yankee, it is *a rebellious and* [illegible] *gle for a place he is unworthy of,* [illegible] degrade, for property he would barter [illegible] he could neither comprehend nor enjoy [illegible] never-ending strife between patience [illegible] between gentle and vile."

Not a word, mark you, once more! about Abolitionism; the thrust is at the whole Yankee race. Who talks of peace or of union with such revilers? The cause of all this alienation is SLAVERY, and we must see to it that the present bloody struggle ends not, until that tyrant-breeding, man-imbruting system is crushed out of existence.

> "In vain a nation's bloody sweat,
> The sob of myriad hearts in vain,
> If the scotched snake may live to set
> Its venom in our flesh again."

Men of the North, be not deceived! The Southern rebellion is not simply a factious movement, a sudden outburst of pride and passion that will ere long subside, or a temporary division that can be healed by forbearance and policy. It is "a fire that burns to the lowest hell." It indicates, in its origin, its object, its spirit, and its shocking barbarities, a demonized state of society, where

> "Justice is fled to brutish beasts,
> And men have lost their reason."

There are no PEOPLE at the South, in the Northern sense of that term, but only three classes or castes, namely—the slave oligarchy, the "poor white trash," and the slaves. The first are as aspiring, obdurate, defiant and desperate as Milton's fallen angels, who had rather reign in hell than serve in heaven; the second are demoralized, benighted and barbarous, the tools and victims of the first, and utterly incapable of reasoning, or being reasoned with; and the third are clanking their chains, in ignominious servitude. Where, then, is our hope in that direction? Surely not in the first class:

> "The slave-lords of the Southern States,
> What demon powers they are!
> They make a league with want and crime,
> On Freedom they wage war:
> They curse the land, the winds, the sea—
> Lord, have they conquered thee?
> With a frown, looking down,
> They curse the land and sea;
> They rival hell, they libel heaven,
> But have not conquered thee!"

Surely, in this terrible emergency, the government has nothing to expect from the poor imbruted whites of the South—nothing but shocking blasphemies, savage cruelties, and revolting excesses of every kind.

The only class left are the four million of slaves, whose military strength, reckoning from the age of 18 to 45, is an army of eight hundred thousand men. As now used, they constitute the very pith and marrow, the bones and sinews of the rebellion. Without them, the rebellion would instantly collapse; with them, it is sure to be victorious. All that they are waiting for, is to leap from the side of treason to that of loyalty, is the word "EMANCIPATION," uttered by ABRAHAM LINCOLN as President of the United States. For liberty, and in defence of the government, they are willing to run all risks, endure all hardships, and, if need be, lay down their lives. They have an unshaken religious faith that this is God's appointed time and method for their deliverance. None will work harder, none will be more docile and obedient, none will fight more bravely, under the inspiration of freedom, than they. They are the only class at the South to constitute a basis of civilization, by their deep religious nature, by their aptitude to learn, by their aspiration for a higher destiny, and thus, with a large infusion of Northern brains and muscles, to make the unity of the republic a possible and permanent event. I regard as essentially traitorous, or practically demented, the man who spurns the proposition for their liberation and enrolment under the national flag, on account of their complexion; or who exhibits disgust at the thought that nineteen million of Northern whites cannot whip into the Union traces six or eight million of refractory Southern rebels. As for the complexional objection, it is equally unreasonable and unnatural. "A man's a man, for a' that."

As for their aid and coöperation in the camp and on the battle-field, and in every other serviceable capacity, if George Washington, at the head of the American army, was not backward to secure them, in "the times that tried men's souls"; and if Gen. Beauregard does not hesitate to muster as many of them as are needed into the service of the rebellion; what true patriot will object to their being received and employed in the maintenance of our common liberties? He is an ignoramus, or a slanderer, who impeaches their courage or questions their capacity. In St. Domingo, they vanquished the best troops of Napoleon, and have maintained their independence to this day. In our Revolutionary struggle, it is historically conceded that they were among the bravest of the brave, and did much towards securing the liberties we are now enjoying. In the war of 1812–14 with Great Britain, they performed many gallant exploits on the sea and on land; and it was solely by the aid of the colored soldiers whom he invited to rally to the rescue, that Gen. Jackson was enabled to achieve his memorable victory at New Orleans; and he bestowed upon them the most flattering eulogies. In spite of all the injustice done to them, wherever the flag has been carried amid the thunder and flame of battle, on every field of conflict, their blood has been freely poured out for our common country. Say not that we can succeed without their help. If that is the spirit which animates us, a just God will never allow us to triumph. Moreover, it is pure deception to say, that it is nineteen millions pitted against eight. Even if it were so, let us remember that the race is not always to the swift, nor the battle to the strong. But it is not true. The lamentable and alarming fact is, that the South is in deadly earnest—a unit in spirit and purpose, ready to be exterminated, but never to surrender; while our Northern house is fearfully divided against itself. The secession element is everywhere to be found in every Northern State, either thinly disguised under the flimsy veil of conditional loyalty, or else bold and menacing in speech. Even the National Capital is full of it, and it is the National Capital that is now virtually in a state of siege, and not Richmond. The government seems to be without a policy, timid, equivocal, irresolute, and without vision; and thus far, with a few exceptions, nothing but disaster and defeat has attended our armies, bravely as they have fought. The South can never be vanquished while she is allowed to retain slavery as a source of her strength and the object of her revolt. Let its immediate overthrow be made the test of loyalty, and resistance to a measure so effectual and beneficent be regarded as at least *prima facie* evidence of a treasonable spirit. There is not a moment to be lost. The blow that destroys slavery extinguishes the rebellion, and saves the life of the republic. In God's name, in justice to the oppressed, in defence of our own freedom, and for the sake of the cause of liberty throughout the world, let it be instantly given! Men of the North—

> "The lords of treason and the whip
> Have called you to the dread appeal,
> From the loud cannon's fevered lip,
> And the wide flash of brandished steel.
>
> "If now the echo of that voice
> Shake down their prison-house of wrong,
> They have their own perfidious choice:
> For God is good, and Truth is strong.
>
> "Their steel draws lightning, and the bolt
> [illegible]
> God in their vineyard of Revolt
> Treads out his sacramental wine!
>
> "Be this our conquest—as they gave
> Their all to Treason and the Chain,
> *We snap the fetter from the slave,*
> AND MAKE OUR SOLE REVENGE THEIR GAIN."

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(1) See "THE RIGHT WAY THE SAFE WAY" by Mrs. L. Maria Child.

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